



The California Historical Society *Quarterly*

Manchester Boddy and the L.A. Daily News

By ROBERT A. ROSENSTONE

California Un-American Activities Investigations

Subversion on the Right?

By ROBERT L. PRITCHARD

A Salute to the Port of Los Angeles

From Mud Flats to Modern Day Miracle

By ANNA MARIE HAGER

The Gianninis—Men of the Renaissance

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Gold Was for the Young

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J. M. Alexander: A Gold Miner's Letter, 1852

Edited by L. PAUL HYATT

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Manchester Boddy and the L.A. Daily News

By ROBERT A. ROSENSTONE

WHEN THE Los Angeles *Daily News* ceased to publish on December 20, 1954, California's largest city lost its only daily newspaper that supported the Democratic Party. Some observers thought that with the paper's demise even more had vanished. Voicing their feelings, *Nation* magazine mourned, "In the newspaper Sahara that is Los Angeles the *Daily News* represented a glimmer — on occasion it was even a glow — of liberal journalism."¹ Others of a similar political persuasion were less sad about the paper's failure, feeling, as its last assistant city editor wrote, that for a long time the *News* had been "empty of strong liberal purpose."² Both mourners and critics did agree on one thing: that the once prosperous paper had owed its temporary success and its sometime liberalism to the vision of one man, Manchester Boddy, publisher and editor for twenty-six of the journal's thirty-one years.³ In this judgment they were right, for the history of the *Daily News* was intimately connected with the life of this one man, who picked the paper out of a bankruptcy court and made it for a time into the most exciting of Southern California dailies.

The story of Elias Manchester Boddy — he dropped the first name early in life — reads like a traditional American rags to riches tale. Born in 1891, the second of five sons to a family struggling on a forty-acre potato farm in Washington, Boddy left home at an early age. He worked at a wide variety of jobs, on farms, in mines and even as a travelling salesman before heading East to seek his fortune. In New York City he became involved in various business ventures. A budding career as a sales manager for Encyclopedia Britannica was interrupted by the First World War, and he came home from the Argonne Forest supposedly "100 percent disabled" from a gas attack.

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Out of the hospital after several months, Boddy had his first contact with the world of journalism as the promoter and head of a task force selling back copies of the New York *Times'* *Current History* magazine, bound and retitled *The European War*. A severe pneumonia sent him West to find sunshine and soon he and his wife arrived in Los Angeles with only \$55 to their name.

In Southern California, Boddy continued as a minor entrepreneur. Taking over a small magazine, he got the Commercial Board, a group of young businessmen, to subsidize it as their house organ. Then he promoted the publication of a Mexican tourist book so well that Harry Chandler, head of the powerful Los Angeles *Times*, hired him to head the Times-Mirror Book Publishing Company, which specialized in California history and movie star biographies. Boddy was at this job when the Los Angeles *Illustrated Daily News* went into receivership and a committee of its stockholders, headed by a member of the Commercial Board, decided that he was the man to make the failing newspaper a paying proposition.⁴

The *News* was only three years old at the time. Started by twenty-year-old Cornelius Vanderbilt, Jr., as one of three tabloids in September, 1923 (the others were in San Francisco and Miami), the *News* had from its birth been an oddity. Dedicated by its publisher to the ideal of "clean" journalism, the paper must have been the most prudish tabloid in America. Not only were stories of sex, crime, and divorce limited to fifty words and relegated to inside pages, but staff artists were employed to touch up photos so that women's skirts covered their knees, and wrestlers had gymshirts painted on their hairy chests. The people of the pleasure-loving twenties, an age of journalistic sensationalism, obviously had little use for such tepid newspaper fare.⁵ By the summer of 1926 only 90,000 were buying the *News* — this was the lowest circulation of any Los Angeles daily — and advertising was minimal.⁶ When it went into bankruptcy, the paper was three million dollars in debt.

Why the stockholders of the *Illustrated Daily News* picked Boddy as their savior is difficult to say; certainly his connections with the Commercial Board helped. A syndicate composed of members of this same board loaned him \$116,000 for six months to buy controlling interest in the paper, with the stipulation that if the *News* did not show a profit, ownership would revert to them.⁷ With a

deadline facing him, Boddy was launched upon his career as a newspaper publisher and editor.

To help make the *News* a paying proposition, Boddy immediately removed the *tabus* on crime, sex, and scandal; and though the paper never sank to the "gutter journalism" level of its New York counterparts, its written and photographic contents soon approximated other journals of the day. Then, as a circulation booster, the new publisher launched a crusade against vice. Reporters visited gambling halls, bookie joints, and houses of prostitution, listed their addresses in the paper and implicated the police in the corruption. Subjected to some harassment by police and politicians, Boddy weathered official hostility and saw his circulation rise until it topped 100,000 by the end of 1926.⁸ With the *Daily News* soon showing a profit, pressure on the publisher eased and he could look forward to the task of molding the newspaper to his own desires.

Boddy's original attitude toward the paper is not a difficult one to discern. An entrepreneur with a string of minor successes behind him, Boddy obviously looked upon the *News* as another business to promote, one that undoubtedly had more interesting facets and farther-reaching possibilities than anything he had tackled to date. Yet there was more to him than a simple desire for success. A friend and historian described Boddy in the following terms:

Shrewd, friendly, incurably optimistic, always willing to take a chance, amazingly prolific of ideas, both sound and dubious, never afraid to express an opinion at a moment's notice on any subject, nor to change that opinion when another viewpoint commanded his interest, a product of the great American common people to whose interest he was genuinely dedicated and for whose integrity and judgment he had a sort of Jeffersonian respect. . . .⁹

Obviously, if the description is accurate, Boddy was the sort of man who would be able to keep his finger on the public pulse, and yet he would not hesitate to convey to the readers his own enthusiasms. This, in fact, is what he was able to do as editor for many years.

It was not until late 1932 that the *Daily News* entered its most important and influential phase, when the paper began giving much publicity to various movements designed to overcome the economic evils and human suffering of the Depression. At the same time, though he had backed Hoover both in 1928 and 1932, Boddy switched

allegiance to Roosevelt's New Deal and remained a registered Democrat as long as he led the *News*. Some people have found the way he jumped political camps to be pernicious. A disgruntled editor claimed "Boddy dumped Hoover when . . . Roosevelt . . . captured the imagination of America. He jumped on the band wagon and began making money."¹⁰ While the drastic shift cannot be denied, the implication that he was only an opportunist and not at all a liberal is unwarranted. After all, many people made a similar switch of allegiance when the New Deal changed the face of American political life. Besides, in his philosophical approach to life, Boddy remained rather consistent across the years. It was only the times which changed around him.

His philosophy was best expressed in a column titled "Thinking and Living," which he began to write shortly after taking over the paper. Obviously feeling that he had learned a lot in his years working about the country, Boddy thought he could pass on to others some of the knowledge he had gained. Hardly a profound man, he must have nonetheless touched his readers with his homely, school-of-hard-knocks ideas that sounded much like traditional folk wisdom. At least, he never hesitated to tell them exactly how he felt about the problems of life and the issues of the day.

In his early columns, Boddy showed himself an advocate of an active individualism. Two ideas recur frequently. One is the concept that people should worry less about life and should live it more fully, should act rather than stew in the juice of worried inaction. The second is that the individual, responsible for all his own actions, is capable of creating his own happiness. This happiness consists in being true to oneself, in living "a simple, well-balanced life in which our physical self can harmonize with our inner self."¹¹ Such a state will be marred if a man does things "which he himself knows, at the time he does them, to be downright crooked and dishonest."¹²

Seeing life as a series of hurdles to be overcome, Boddy attacked people who think they can be completely removed so that "the great god Ease will reign supreme."¹³ Such reasoning is foolish, for experience teaches that when one hurdle is removed, new ones spring up. Besides, he thought, such obstacles are necessary, for without them life would hold no interest. The important thing is how the individual confronts problems and honestly attempts to solve them. His success is dependent upon his own inner resources. As Boddy wrote:

Any individual has a *possible* chance for a successful journey through life when he develops self-confidence and self-reliance . . . it means he has no chance when he neglects these and depends for help upon his congressman, his senator, his city council, board of supervisors, Congress, the President or any political party. . . .¹⁴

Here, obviously, are the words of a self-made man, praising his own rise and frowning upon those who would look outside themselves for help.

Such a viewpoint seems bleakly conservative, but it only reflects one side of Boddy's thinking. The other side was strongly humanitarian. Never a Social Darwinist proclaiming life an economic jungle, Boddy could follow the above quote with the understanding statement that because of the ways of the world, not everyone could achieve success. Then he said flatly that society must undertake "the obligation of caring for such as cannot care for themselves," and to this theme he would recur more than once. This is important, for during the thirties, when Boddy changed from a Republican to an ardent backer of the New Deal, it was becoming increasingly obvious that whole sections of American society were incapable of caring for themselves in the face of widespread breakdown of the economic order. In switching political allegiances Boddy was only responding to his humanitarian impulses and recognizing that new times call for new actions.

Even while supporting Hoover in 1932, Boddy was beginning to look for something beyond traditional Republican policies. Perhaps his rejection of FDR was mere skepticism at a campaign that vaguely promised a New Deal for Americans at less money than the government was already spending; probably he was still a captive of the traditional wisdom that government could do nothing to alleviate a depression. Yet Boddy realized the problems of this particular depression were unprecedented. The self-reliance he cherished meant little when there were no jobs or business opportunities for anyone, and he cast about for ways of helping the individual. In October, 1932, he was advocating a kind of voluntary collectivism that would throw open "idle land near industry . . . to part-time workers." Here was the Jeffersonian in him talking, for such action would not only "take the worst sting out of critical industrial periods," but would also improve the moral fibre of the people because "any man who gains partial subsistence from the soil is likely to be a pretty decent

citizen.”¹⁵ At the same time, the editor expressed a vague interest in the Soviet Union’s economic experiments, though he obviously had little use for that nation’s methods.¹⁶ Still, with such views, Boddy can be seen working himself towards a position that would allow him to accept large parts of the New Deal and some schemes that went beyond it.

After the election of 1932 but before FDR’s inauguration, the *Daily News* became deeply involved in publicizing and promoting one such plan for radically changing American economic life. The movement was Technocracy, and the manner in which the paper handled its story shows something about the mixture of motives always in Boddy’s mind. One day the editor came across an article in Al Smith’s *New Outlook* magazine written by Howard Scott, an engineer who was head of a Columbia University study group concerned with how engineering and science could improve people’s lives. Intrigued by the possibilities of a “scientific” management of society, Boddy saw in such a movement a way of ending the Depression. He also understood the possibilities of exploiting the story and picking up some new circulation for the newspaper. As he recalled in the early sixties, “economic news was as thrilling in those days as a good murder trial is today.”¹⁷

Technocracy entered the pages of the *News* quietly enough, with the editor writing in his November 30 column that such a science, based on fact and beyond the influence of partisan politics, was “the answer to Spenglerism.” Only two days later, it was getting banner headlines, which it did for a month. It did so because Boddy assigned a single reporter to cover the story, and he planned on a thirty-day series. Since the only information on Technocracy was the one magazine article, the reporter was obliged to rewrite it for the entire month, trying to find a new “slant” every day.¹⁸

On December 2 the *Daily News* page one banner proclaimed, “NEW DEAL DETAILS BARED,” and then came the story of Technocracy. The headline was obviously bogus, calculated to make an anxious public buy papers to see what their new President would do for them. Since Roosevelt and his advisers were not even mentioned in the story, the headline can only be justified on the grounds that the article had appeared in Democratic leader Al Smith’s publication, which seems little justification, or that Boddy wished to sell

papers, which is most likely. On the second day the banner read, "GREATEST U.S. ENGINEER SEES TECHNOCRACY FREE-ING PEOPLE." Similar headlines appeared throughout the month, over stories that told how the Depression could be easily brought to an end. At the same time Boddy continued extolling the virtues of Technocracy in his column. By December 7 he was thanking readers for the huge flood of mail on the subject. Meanwhile, the paper was carrying many articles on Technocracy, interviews with scientists, news of clubs being formed to promote its tenets, predictions that the work week would be shortened to ten hours by 1940 due to the switch from an economy based on profit to one based on consumption. During the month Manchester Boddy, himself, filled the Philharmonic Auditorium in Los Angeles for a public debate on the subject with Lincoln Steffens.

Obviously, the editor-publisher's judgment had been right. Technocracy was a good story. It offered hope to people who needed to hope. And it brought circulation to the *Daily News*. Observers recorded that while the series of articles on Technocracy was appearing, "crowds congregated around the doors of the press-room as publication hour approached. When the first copies, ink scarcely dry, were off the press, the excitement rose to a fever pitch. Men fought and scrambled. Dollar bills in the rear were often waved over the heads of those in front. Edition after edition would be sold out."¹⁹ Boddy later even claimed that bootlegged copies of November issues of the *News* sold for as high as a dollar each.²⁰ And various commentators have credited Boddy's paper with helping to create much of the excitement surrounding Technocracy in that era.²¹

In a few months, the furor over the subject died down in the pages of the *News*. Here again one can find mixed motives in the editor's mind. Boddy's interest in the topic abated as engineers devoted only to facts began quarrelling over what those facts were. Then he was put off by the suggestions of some Technocrats that dictatorship was necessary to get their system into operation. Just as important in its disappearance from the newspaper was obviously the fact that as a story, Technocracy had had its day; no longer was news of it capable of selling papers. Still, Boddy went on mentioning it from time to time, obviously still fascinated by a scientific approach to society. As late as November, 1934, he wrote that Technocracy gave a good

critical appraisal of "what was wrong with the present economic system," but unfortunately proposed no realistic alternative.²²

What Boddy did in the way of publicity for Technocracy he also did for a number of other social movements of the nineteen thirties. But never again did he give any such movement the blanket support he had given the first one. He was beginning to doubt social panaceas of any sort, and after 1933 was increasingly happy with the trial and error methods of the New Deal. Still, the fair hearing given to many of the movements of the thirties in the pages of the *Daily News* helped them spread their messages to a public interested in ways out of the Depression.

The first of these after Technocracy was the Utopian Society, also dedicated to a new economic order. Using elaborate, mysterious rituals, the movement soon commanded a large following. Though there was nothing apparently subversive about it, scare headlines filled the Los Angeles press the week before the Utopians were to hold their first Hollywood Bowl meeting on June 23, 1934. Utopia was linked with "Red Radicalism" and was said to be "Backed by Moscow."²³ The *Daily News* did not go along with the other papers. On June 23 a page one article explained the purposes and objectives of the Utopian Society — insofar as they could be explained — and termed it a pro-American organization. Was Boddy trying to woo members of the society to the *News*? Perhaps, but it must be remembered that red-baiting also helps sell papers, and that good journalism required that the organization's doings be accurately reported. Rather than simply sell papers, editor Boddy was showing his readers that dissident movements need not be subversive of the social order.

In the same year as the Utopians, Upton Sinclair's EPIC (End Poverty in California) movement, designed to put him into the governor's chair in Sacramento, received a good news break in the *Daily News*. While the former socialist, running on the Democratic ticket, was being attacked by most of the California press as a Communist, atheist, anarchist, and believer in free love, Manchester Boddy was calling Sinclair a great man but objecting to EPIC on the grounds that it did not agree with the plans of the New Deal and that it would not work.²⁴ Even so, the editor opened his front page to Sinclair on June 10, 1934, and allowed the candidate to explain why he felt his program did agree with that of Roosevelt. Throughout

the campaign Sinclair received much fair coverage in the *News*, but its endorsement went to Frank Merriam, a Republican who, under pressure, had accepted a New Deal platform. Boddy, himself, made the case for a "liberal" being able to oppose EPIC, saying that Sinclair's plan ignores "the facts of our present economic situation."²⁵ For Boddy the problem was not merely one of putting unemployed back to work — Sinclair wished to do this by nationalizing closed factories — but was one of distribution, which EPIC did not plan to tackle. After the election, Sinclair accused Boddy of "leading liberal movements up blind alleys and bludgeoning them," but since Roosevelt himself remained noncommittal about EPIC, the charge hardly seems fair or cogent.²⁶

Following EPIC came a number of other schemes for dealing with the problems of the Depression, some limited to California, some with nationwide appeal. Most of them received coverage in the *Daily News*. A couple, like Social Credit and Community Land Chest, were endorsed.²⁷ When pension plans began dotting the political landscape, their intricacies were explained too, but editor Boddy had the good sense to keep from supporting such dubious movements as Ham 'n Eggs or the Townsend Plan, even when the latter achieved enough popularity to almost be approved by a state initiative measure. By the mid-thirties many of the publisher's political dreams were being realized in the unfolding of the New Deal.

The affair between Boddy and FDR may not have been the result of love at first sight, but after the Technocracy bubble had burst, the editor was obviously looking about for another movement that would help the ailing country, and soon the New Deal was doing just that. Boddy even seemed to entertain the lingering hope that Roosevelt's program would include the "production for consumption" doctrines of the Technocrats, to which he steadily adhered. As late as December 12, 1934, he wrote that "Community Land Chest, Technocracy, NRA and the New Deal, old-age pensions and Social Credit . . . all . . . make one harmonious whole and do not conflict, one with another." How these things harmonize is problematic, but his expression shows Boddy to be a man in favor of a wide variety of methods for curing economic ills and of helping — even by government action now — those who could not help themselves.

Many things in the New Deal could be calculated to appeal to the

newspaper publisher, even to his traditionalist side. The rhetoric of Roosevelt's inaugural address that spoke of "social values more noble than mere monetary profit" certainly stirred a man who had attacked mere monetary gain that was achieved at the expense of the harmonious life.²⁸ The bustle of activity of New Deal leaders had to appeal to someone who believed in purposeful action to overcome the hurdles of life. The ultimate conservative aim of Roosevelt, that of saving private enterprise, also was understood and commended by Boddy the entrepreneur.²⁹ In the middle of the Hundred Days he wrote of the New Deal, "If it fails, our economic, political and social structure will give way to outright Communism."³⁰ A year later the *News* happily editorialized, "Roosevelt is destroying Socialism and Communism in America by removing the evils that breed them."³¹ On the eve of the 1936 election, the paper claimed FDR "has made magnificent strides toward restoring to the people the liberties and opportunities of which they have been despoiled."³² By now Boddy recognized that government could help liberate men from the shackles of an economic system over which they had little control. Thus it could help restore self-reliance and self-confidence rather than simply robbing people of these precious commodities.

From almost its inception until Roosevelt's dying day, the *Daily News* supported the New Deal with great ardor, and scorned those who opposed it. As late as the unprecedented fourth campaign, Boddy scoffed that only the "isolationists, the bitter partisans, the deluded and the uninformed" wished to defeat the President.³³ Boddy did have some objections to certain New Deal actions and agencies, such as the NLRB, which he thought gave far too much power to organized labor. But he kept these to himself because he was happy with the overall progress of the country under Roosevelt's administrations, and he did not wish to go into opposition.³⁴ It would also be naive to overlook the fact that at least part of a public now wedded to the New Deal would go on buying the only paper in Los Angeles to back FDR. In keeping his objections to himself, Boddy was again being mindful of the business side of his newspaper operation.

How strongly FDR's programs changed Boddy's political allegiances can be seen in the *Daily News* endorsement for offices. In 1932, along with Hoover, the paper backed seven Republicans in eight Congressional districts; by 1934 it was calling for an all-

Democratic Congress to help the President's program. After that year it was the rare Republican who found himself receiving the *News*' support. One of the few was old Progressive Senator Hiram Johnson, whom Boddy backed for re-election in 1940, going so far as to write a pamphlet in his favor. Saying he recognized the President was desirous of party loyalty, Boddy endorsed Johnson because of his "proven liberalism" that made him "the people's most consistent and most powerful champion."³⁵ In spite of his ardent New Dealing, Boddy was able to keep an open mind and an independent spirit.

On other issues of the day Boddy's newspaper showed an equally open mind. Witch hunting — ever a popular California pastime — was often editorially condemned.³⁶ In 1934, when a few UCLA students were expelled for allegedly being Communists, the *News* called for their reinstatement saying, "Everyone knows the boys aren't communists."³⁷ When Mexican lettuce pickers went on strike in the Imperial Valley in the same year, and the usual Red charge was made in some quarters, the *News* commiserated with the "wretchedly paid . . . helpless victims" who engaged in such "arduous toil" and had "no more connection with the Red Internationale than with the Sultan of Sulu."³⁸

If Boddy could be fair to such helpless groups as agricultural workers and students, he also always dealt decently with labor unions, both their right to organize and to strike.³⁹ One of the touchstones here was the San Francisco General Strike which broke out in July, 1934. Most California newspapers not only denounced the strike, but in the words of one historian they "unceasingly whipped up the hysteria of their readers by asserting that the movement was communistic in inspiration, character and purpose. . . ."⁴⁰ Though the *News* made much play of the strike in bold, banner headlines, it covered events fairly. Meanwhile Boddy editorialized that the strike was a legal one. He called it not a general strike, "which seeks to paralyze all social activity," but a "unified strike," and that is how stories in the *News* always referred to it.⁴¹ Early in the strike Boddy asked the government to step in as a referee between capital and labor. When the National Guard was called in, the paper demanded that the troops should only protect property and should refrain from trying to chastise the strikers.⁴² No other metropolitan paper was as fair to the workers.

Though the Daily News took consistently liberal positions after 1933 and was always open-minded in handling touchy social issues, it would be wrong to picture it as a newspaper solely given over to the exploration of social improvement schemes. Boddy saw to it that the paper never completely lost itself in the heady clouds of political and economic speculation; throughout the decade it kept its feet firmly planted on the bedrock of popular journalism, with cheesecake and crime, columnists and breezy reporting enlivening its pages.

Still, the *News*' difference from other Los Angeles dailies was in its political stance, and this influenced its readership. During the first two Roosevelt administrations, while many metropolitan papers were failing across the country and two went under in Southern California, the *News* doubled its circulation, standing at 202,000 as the new decade opened.⁴³ It was still the smallest of the four Los Angeles dailies, but it was less than 20,000 behind the *Examiner* and the *Times*. It is true that it had 50,000 fewer readers than the *Herald-Express*, but that paper had actually fallen in circulation over an eight-year period, while the two other rivals had made slight gains. Thus, judged by either percentage or absolute increase, the *News* was by far and away the greatest success story of Los Angeles journalism in the thirties. Surely much of this increase was due to Manchester Boddy, his endorsement of the New Deal, and his fair-mindedness in covering the various social enthusiasms of the period. The editor-publisher had received a nice payoff for his liberal approach to the world.

There is little doubt that the important journalistic days for both Boddy and the *News* were at an end with the coming of the Second World War. Like most American newspapers, the *News* prospered during the conflict, but its distinctive stance was submerged in the war effort. The peak of its readership came two years after fighting ended, when more than 300,000 people purchased it every day. But already it was falling both absolutely and relatively farther behind the other Los Angeles dailies than it had been in fifteen years.

As the paper's success was intimately tied to the personality of Manchester Boddy, so was its decline. Turning sixty when the war decade ended, the editor had become a prosperous man, and he was also very tired of the hectic task of running a newspaper. One friend observed that even before the war Boddy had become fed up with his

position because "he had run out of [the] conflicts" on which he had thrived.⁴⁴ Less kind is the suggestion that, now rich and growing conservative, Boddy wanted to retire to enjoy his fortune.⁴⁵ Yet Boddy had in 1941 touched this same idea in writing that newspapers may have the same enthusiastic and idealistic beginnings as other institutions. They are also likely, happily or unhappily, to grow into the conservative middle age of affluence, and even into the reactionary old age of a fortune won and watched.⁴⁶

Perhaps even at that date he could feel himself succumbing to this very human pressure.

If Boddy was changing, so was the world, and this, too, helps explain the decline of the *News*. Post-war United States did not spawn the dissident movements on which the paper had thrived, and the organization man, with his drive for security and material goods, would not have been interested in a paper that rocked the boat or endorsed drastic changes in the social order; such activities belonged to a Depression world now vanished. With the reforms of the New Deal now institutionalized, a paper supporting them could create little excitement among the public, and certainly Harry Truman's Fair Deal was anything but hot news.

Boddy himself was hardly excited about the course of events, and he even began to have second thoughts about the Roosevelt era. Feeling he was repeating himself in print and still a Democrat, he made an unsuccessful bid for his party's Senatorial nomination in 1950. During the campaign he plumped hard for the "little man," sounding the theme of individualism that had filled his early columns. Now he was concerned that big government and big labor — both the products of big business — were serving to crush rather than liberate the individual.⁴⁷ Like many other critics, he had no real solution for this problem, but his very recognition of it shows a growing disillusionment with some of the results of the New Deal.

Another event of the campaign shows how Boddy was changing. More than one commentator has alleged that it was the editor in the primary — rather than Richard Nixon in the final election — who first smeared Mrs. Helen Gahagan Douglas as being "pink," and who linked her with Vito Marcantonio, the radical New York Congressman widely believed to be a follower of the Communist Party line.⁴⁸ Boddy and one of his associates denied the charge, and certainly

his columns engaged in no such allegations.⁴⁹ Yet it is true that before the primary advertisements appeared in all the Los Angeles papers linking Mrs. Douglas with Marcantonio.⁵⁰ Since they were sponsored by an anonymous "citizen's committee," it is impossible to tell what, if anything, Boddy had to do with such a charge. Even if guiltless, Boddy in later years expressed enough hostility toward the Communists and their supposed "subversion" of his newspaper to show that the fair-mindedness he had shown towards radical activity in the thirties was a thing of the past.⁵¹

Shortly after the election, the editor-publisher went into semi-retirement, disgusted that the people whose causes he had espoused for so long had deserted him at the polls.⁵² In August, 1952, he severed all connection with the newspaper, selling his stock to a syndicate. For its last two years of existence, the *News* was in a sorry state. Plagued by falling circulation and advertising revenue even before Boddy's departure, the paper could not meet the competition of the *Mirror*, a new daily sponsored by the wealthy Los Angeles *Times*. Caught in a vicious circle of falling income, which meant staff cutbacks, a poorer product, less circulation and thus less income, the *News* went the way of so many metropolitan dailies in recent years. When it fell into bankruptcy in December, 1954, the newspaper was \$3,500,000 in debt, slightly more than the total debt when Manchester Boddy had taken control of it twenty-eight years before.

If there were no men like Boddy to revitalize the *News* in 1954, it was largely because times had changed. In reality, Boddy was a man of an earlier era, a man whose personal journalism, displayed in his columns and crusades, could succeed in the world of the thirties, when American society was in upheaval, but had little place in the organization-minded post-war world. Similarly, his philosophy was out of date. He could change from a laissez-faire-minded entrepreneur to a supporter of the New Deal on the grounds that the latter was helping to restore individualism, but after World War II it was difficult for Boddy to find where self-reliance and individual initiative resided in American life. Besides, increasing age and prosperity made him less interested in the search. Critics may be right in claiming he was not a liberal to the end, but the liberalism and fair-mindedness that he imparted to the *Daily News* in the thirties helped write an important page in California journalistic history.

NOTES

1. "Death of a Daily," *Nation*, 180 (Jan. 8, 1955), p. 23.
2. Lucien C. Haas, "The Daily News and Why it Died," *Frontier* (Feb., 1955), p. 7.
3. In addition to article cited in first two notes see "L.A.: the Death of the News," *New Republic*, 132 (Jan. 10, 1955), p. 6.
4. Details of Boddy's life from F. J. Taylor, "Man with a Borrowed Shoestring: Manchester Boddy," *Saturday Evening Post*, 217 (Dec. 2, 1944), pp. 24-25. Much information is also contained in Gene Coughlin, "Daily News Story," a 205-page, incomplete manuscript written in the late forties. Coughlin was with the *News* from its Vanderbilt days until after the end of World War II, serving in a variety of editorial positions. The MS was lent by Boddy to the author.
5. For Vanderbilt's paper see Taylor, "Man with a Borrowed Shoestring." The author also benefitted from reading Matt Weinstock, "The Early History of the Daily News," a 27-page memorandum prepared for Boddy's own use in 1944. Weinstock, with the paper from 1924 through its demise, served in positions from reporter to managing editor. He also talked about the early *News* days in a personal interview with the author.
6. All circulation figures in this article are taken from the appropriate volumes of the *Newspaper Annual and Directory* (Philadelphia: N. W. Ayer and Son).
7. "Details of L.A. News Suspension Bared," *Editor and Publisher*, 88 (Feb. 12, 1955), p. 14; Manchester Boddy, personal interview with the author.
8. Taylor, "Man with a Borrowed Shoestring"; Coughlin, "Daily News Story"; Boddy interview.
9. Robert Glass Cleland, *California In Our Time* (New York: Knopf, 1947), pp. 217-218.
10. Haas, "The Daily News and Why it Died," p. 7.
11. *Thinking and Living* (Los Angeles: n.p., 1929), p. 15. This book is a collection of early columns which Boddy published himself.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 61.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 62.
14. *Daily News*, Oct. 5, 1932.
15. *Ibid.*, Oct. 4, 1932.
16. *Ibid.*, Oct. 26, 1932.
17. Boddy interview.
18. Weinstock interview.
19. Luther Whiteman and Samuel L. Lewis, *Glory Roads* (New York: Crowell, 1936), p. 9.

20. Boddy interview.
21. Whiteman and Lewis, *Glory Roads*, pp. 8-9; Cleland, *California in Our Time*, p. 218; Carey McWilliams, *Southern California Country* (New York: Duell, Sloan and Peace, 1946), p. 294.
22. *Daily News*, Nov. 16, 1934.
23. Whiteman and Lewis, *Glory Roads*, p. 24.
24. *Daily News*, June 10, 1934.
25. *Ibid.*, Oct. 24, 1934.
26. Taylor, "Man With a Borrowed Shoestring," p. 103.
27. Boddy showed interest in Community Land Chest in a number of columns in May, 1933. See, for example, May 19 issue of the paper. Social Credit won his enthusiasm in November, 1934. The edition of Nov. 22 carries a typical column endorsing it.
28. On the day after the inaugural Boddy enthusiastically wrote, "For the first time during this crisis we have a national leader possessed of enlightened ideas and revolutionary plans, and in a position to execute them."
29. *Daily News*, May 10, 1934.
30. *Ibid.*, May 15, 1933.
31. *Ibid.*, July 6, 1934.
32. *Ibid.*, Nov. 2, 1936.
33. *Ibid.*, Nov. 11, 1944.
34. Coughlin, "Daily News Story," p. 203; Boddy interview.
35. "Why I am going to vote for Hiram W. Johnson" (1940).
36. See, for example, *Daily News* editorial, May 26, 1934.
37. *Ibid.*, Nov. 15, 1934.
38. *Ibid.*, July 1, 1934.
39. See, for example, Boddy column, Dec. 3, 1934.
40. Cleland, *California in Our Time*, p. 228.
41. *Daily News*, July 17, 1934.
42. *Ibid.*, July 7, 1934.
43. During the Depression the *Express* was absorbed by the *Herald* and the *Record* was taken over by the *Daily News*.
44. Coughlin, "Daily News Story," p. 202.
45. Haas, "The Daily News and Why it Died," p. 8.
46. Boddy article in Harold L. Ickes, ed., *Freedom of the Press Today* (New York: Vanguard Press, 1941), p. 45.

47. *Daily News*, June 8, 1950.
48. Haas, "The Daily News and Why it Died," p. 8; Earl Mazo, *Richard Nixon* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1959), pp. 74-75.
49. Boddy, Weinstock interviews.
50. The advertisement appeared in the *Daily News* on June 30, 1950.
51. Boddy interview.
52. Weinstock interview; Haas, "The Daily News and Why it Died," p. 8.

California Un-American Activities Investigations Subversion on the Right?

By ROBERT L. PRITCHARD

CALIFORNIA'S COUNTERPART to the U. S. House of Representatives' Un-American Activities Committee was established during the 1941 legislative session. It was a joint Senate-Assembly group, officially named the Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities in California. It became the permanent successor of several legislative committees that had been established to investigate alleged subversive activities in the State Relief Administration. The most important of these, and the immediate predecessor of the Un-American Activities Committee, was the Assembly Relief Investigating Committee, chaired by Assemblyman Samuel W. Yorty of Los Angeles. Assemblyman Jack B. Tenney, also of Los Angeles, served on the Yorty Committee and, as a state senator, headed the Joint Un-American Activities Committee from 1941 to 1949. Tenney was replaced in 1949 by Senator Hugh M. Burns of Fresno, who was the Committee's chairman at this writing.

The Committee's primary concern, during its quarter-century of existence, has been to investigate Communism or Communist-related activities, real or alleged. Of the thirteen full reports and several supplemental reports published since 1943, only six deal with matters unrelated to Communism.¹ Even when dealing primarily with non-Communist organizations or problems, the Committee has tended to relate its investigation in some way to Communism. The Committee's view of the range of Communist activities in California has encompassed a rather broad spectrum of opinion on the left, extending from the liberally oriented American Civil Liberties Union to the Communist Party itself. The purpose of this article is to examine the lesser known aspect of the Committee's endeavors —

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its investigations of activities that are primarily non-Communist. For lack of a better term, these matters can be somewhat loosely labeled as "right-wing."

The types of non-Communist organizations investigated by the Committee fall into three categories: (1) totalitarian organizations; (2) nontotalitarian right-wing organizations; (3) racist organizations. The first group includes Nazi, Fascist, and Japanese organizations that were investigated during World War II.² The second group includes organizations that are authoritarian, ultra-patriotic, and militantly anti-Communist, as the Sinarquista movement and the John Birch Society. The third group includes the Black Muslims, the Ku Klux Klan, and the National States Rights Party. Mankind United, another group investigated by the Committee, defies categorization. It was a mixture of mysticism, occultism, and the charlatanism of its leaders. Its investigation appears to have proved little, except the endemic gullibility of its membership.³

Before examining the Committee's investigations of these organizations, it is instructive to observe the three men who have most strongly influenced the Committee over the years — Senator Jack B. Tenney, Senator Hugh M. Burns, and Committee Chief Counsel Richard Ellis Combs. Tenney, an entertainer, songwriter, and one-time president of the Los Angeles Local 47 of the American Federation of Musicians, was first elected to the state legislature as an assemblyman in 1936. Until 1939, he was associated with the more liberal elements in the Democratic Party. According to Professor Edward Barrett of the University of California (Berkeley) Law School, "Tenney supported numerous left-wing movements in his capacity as president of the union."⁴ Tenney's local of the A.F.M. was associated with the Hollywood Anti-Nazi League, which in 1938 called for dissolution of the Dies Committee.⁵ At a League rally in November, 1938, Tenney's speech included the following remarks:

Fellow subversive elements, I have just heard that Mickey Mouse is conspiring with Shirley Temple to overthrow the government and that there is a witness who has seen the "Red" card of Donald Duck. When the Dies Committee stoops to calling President Roosevelt a Communist, and says that Mrs. Roosevelt is a front for subversive elements, then I think the rest of us should be flattered to be put in that category.⁶

The Committee, during the period in which Tenney served as chairman, labeled the Hollywood Anti-Nazi League as a Communist-front organization.⁷ Tenney's explanation as to why he became associated with the League and other left-wing organizations provides a possible explanation for his later anti-Communist zeal as Committee chairman:

Jack B. Tenney's thinking on the subject of Communism was about the same as that of the average citizen in 1937 and his reaction to disguised Communist propaganda about the same. The average citizen of 1937 just wasn't prepared to believe that there was such a thing as a "communist menace" in the United States. That there were Americans who sought the destruction of the United States was too utterly fantastic for rational belief. People were of two kinds: those who sought the betterment of the poor and the unemployed, and the rich and heartless "reactionaries" who "sought to further oppress the poor." . . . A sinister and mysterious power residing somewhere in "Wall Street" in New York actually ran the United States. Whenever a courageous voice was raised in opposition to these things it was to be immediately hushed by being called "communistic" — and "directed by Moscow." And what was wrong with Moscow, anyway? Didn't everyone know that there hadn't been any unemployment or distress in Russia during the great depression? Maybe the Russians really had something! Hadn't "Big Business" cooked up a Congressional Committee headed by a "narrow-minded Texas reactionary" named Martin Dies for the purpose of destroying labor unions?

.....
Thus ran the fuzzy thinking of 1937.⁸

As Committee chairman, Tenney conducted investigations with a crusading ardor, employing a "shotgun" technique that blasted forth at Communists, Communist-fronts, and alleged Communists in every direction. Many diverse activities were investigated: the Zoot-Suit riots, the UCLA Writers' Conference, alleged Communist propaganda at Canoga Park High School, the Communist line on sex, the Hollywood film industry — no subject was too large or too small to escape the Committee's scrutiny. Tenney badgered witnesses, indiscriminately threw around the labels "Communist front" and "fellow traveler," and exploited through extravagant statements the public's desire for sensationalism. The criticism of his methods, and often of his conclusions, built up over a period of years, and the state senate replaced him in 1949.⁹ Whether Tenney was motivated by a sincere belief that he was protecting the United States against internal

enemies, reacting against an earlier gullibility, or simply trying to exploit for his own purposes an emotional public issue, is impossible to determine. Whatever the reason, the senate felt it could no longer condone his flamboyant style. After Tenney's departure, the style of the Committee's investigations, if not the substance, was quite different.

Senator Hugh M. Burns of Fresno was one of the legislature's most powerful and influential leaders. He had served in the legislature since 1937, as Chairman of the Un-American Activities Committee since 1949, and as President Pro Tempore of the Senate since 1957. He also headed the Senate Rules Committee, which placed him in a key position to influence legislation. Burns, a very conservative Democrat, worked well with conservative Republicans, and was generally regarded quite highly in right-wing circles. Although more moderate in style than Tenney, he was equally dedicated as a militant anti-Communist. The Committee under Burns' leadership was very active in its investigations of left-wing elements in California; it was particularly critical of alleged un-American professors and administrators at the University of California. However, because of the pressure of his many and varied responsibilities in the legislature, Burns left the day-to-day operations of the Committee to Chief Counsel Combs.

Richard Combs, in many ways was the most interesting of the Committee's "triumvirate" of leaders. He had made a nearly life-long study of Communism and had become, even his critics admitted, an expert on the subject. Combs, no less than Tenney or Burns, believed that Communism was an international conspiracy, dedicated to achieving its objectives by open revolution if possible, by internal subversion if necessary. However, Combs was no Jack Tenney. He had steeped himself in factual knowledge about his chosen subject and followed a much more moderate approach in his investigative activities. Whether he interpreted correctly the facts at his command is another matter entirely.

A recent study of the Committee pointed out the unusual procedures that it has followed over the past few years:

Shielded by the Senate's dominant politico, the Un-American Activities Committee has burrowed, since 1950, into continually deepening obscurity. It abolished public hearings in 1952. Its meetings leave no records. No one can

learn what witnesses are called. Even the whereabouts of records is a secret. The names of persons Combs hires for investigations or pays as tipsters are not disclosed even to Committee members. Since 1959 the very language authorizing the Committee disappeared from Senate records. The Senate created a catch-all "General Research Committee" and Un-American Activities was submerged within it, as a sub-committee. Even appropriations of money no longer appear in Senate journals.¹⁰

The Committee's activities, files, and agents apparently were under the personal direction and control of Combs. Whatever the Committee's function in California today, it has performed that function through the efforts of Combs, without too much interference from the Committee's legislative membership. Combs' position has been unique, both in California and in the rest of the nation.

II

During World War II, the Committee devoted considerable effort to investigations of groups allegedly sympathetic to Nazism, Fascism, or Japanese militarism. It regarded all these ideas as totalitarian and inimical to the American way of life. It further attempted to show that each of these ideas had infiltrated American society and had carried on fifth-column activities designed to destroy the United States from within. A significant portion of the Committee's first two reports described the results of these investigations.¹¹

The Committee's first report on Nazism began with a brief survey of the Nazis' rise to power and an analysis of Nazism's theoretical foundations. It then examined Nazi organizations in California, particularly the Friends of New Germany and the German-American Bund. The latter organization was the more important and received the Committee's major attention. Some twenty-five witnesses were subpoenaed to discuss the activities of the Bund.¹² This number included both citizens and resident aliens. The Committee's questions dealt primarily with the following matters: the nature of the Bund's organization in America, the interlocking structure of Nazi-type organizations, the source of the Bund's operating instructions, the doctrines of the organization, and the conduct of meetings — whether the members displayed American flags and wore uniforms and arm-bands.

The Committee examined the scope and extent of the Bund's operations in the United States, as well as the activities of other organizations sympathetic to the Nazis. It was less explicit as to whether these organizations had actually engaged in subversive activities. The Committee seemed more cautious in drawing the line between advocacy and action than in its investigations of Communism, but did conclude that

The German-American *Bund* in the United States was divided into three districts, Eastern, Middle Western, and Western. The National leader received his inspiration, program and orders from Berlin, although Fuehrers, such as Herman Max Schwinn claimed that the National leader took his orders from the National Convention. The organizational set-up of the German-American *Bund* in this regard is based on the same fictions used by the Communist Party of the United States.¹³

.....

The Committee learned that the German American *Bund* was in constant contact with Nazi diplomatic representatives in California until these agencies were closed by the Federal Government. . . . In addition to others, the Steuben societies, *Turnvereins* and singing societies were all used as fronts for the *Bund*. Summer camps were maintained in California where German-American children were taught the harsh doctrines of Naziism [*sic*], drilled, regimented, toughened, disciplined and indoctrinated with the theory that Democracy is decadent.¹⁴

A substantial portion of the Committee's investigation of Nazi activities was devoted to a discussion of Communism, drawing parallels between the two ideologies. In denouncing Nazi ideas concerning racial superiority and anti-Semitism as completely contrary to American democratic principles, the Committee pointed out that

The Communist Party itself does not hesitate to attack the Jews of the United States when they find citizens of this race [*sic*] boldly antagonistic to Communist intrigue and conspiracy against the Government.

.....

Under the cloak of the Bill of Rights, the Nazi and the Communist seek to subvert the freedom they intend to destroy while clinging to their protections.¹⁵

The Committee noted further that the Communist Party did not hesitate to collaborate with the Nazis or any other group when such collaboration suited its purposes. During the period of the Nazi-

Soviet Pact (August, 1939, to June, 1941), the American Communist Party followed the line that the war was just a conflict among "decadent capitalist states" and that there was little to choose between Germany and Britain. The Party reversed this policy as soon as the Soviet Union was attacked and called for a united anti-Fascist front.

The Committee cited the America First Committee as another example of Nazi-Communist collaboration. It noted that most America Firsters were sincere, patriotic Americans who felt that the nation's best interests would be served by following a policy of isolation and remaining out of the war. However, despite their sincerity and patriotism, they were used by totalitarian-front organizations:

The United States had not yet been attacked by any aggressor nation, and many thousands of perfectly good, loyal Americans opposed involvement. . . . however sincere and loyal the majority of the members of such organizations as the America First Committee and National Legion of Mothers of America may have been, the objectives of such groups coincided in every way with the objectives of Axis agents and Axis-front organizations, such as the German-American *Bund*. For at least 22 months the objectives of the isolationists also corresponded with the objectives of the Communist Party.¹⁶

The Committee's investigation of Italian Fascist activities in California followed the same procedure and covered similar ground as its investigation of the Nazis. It attempted to show a pattern of subversive activities through Italian-language groups and alleged Fascist-front organizations.¹⁷ However, based solely on the material included in the Committee report, no definite pattern of subversion was established. In fact, the Committee's probe into Nazi and Fascist activities appears to have added nothing substantive to the fight against enemy espionage in America. The really important work in this area was done by agencies of the federal government.¹⁸

In its investigation of Japanese organizations, the Committee placed great emphasis on the testimony given by Dr. John Lechner.¹⁹ Lechner was director of the Americanism Educational League, located in Los Angeles. This was a patriotic organization, dedicated to a defense of the United States Constitution against Nazism, Communism, and other alien "isms."²⁰ Precisely how Lechner obtained his expertise on the Japanese and why the Committee regarded him

as an expert, is not readily ascertainable. Perhaps it was because Senator Tenney was also a member of the Americanism Educational League.²¹ Lechner believed that a substantial Japanese subversive network existed in the United States. He favored the most stringent measures against the Japanese to minimize the effectiveness of this network, including particularly strong support for the "relocation" of all Japanese from the West Coast. He advocated military rule in the relocation centers and warned against "a nationally organized movement to soften the American public" in its attitude toward the Japanese.²² Lechner feared that the purpose of this was to "pave the way for a negotiated peace with Japan."²³

The Committee's conclusions regarding the Japanese, although not confirmed by the material in the official reports, were as follows:

The committee does not contend, and never has contended, that all Japanese evacuees are disloyal to the United States. As a result of intensive investigation the committee finds that the great majority of *Issei* (foreign-born Japanese) are loyal to Japan. . . . the *Issei* . . . if given the opportunity, would do everything in their power to further the war aims of Japan. The Committee finds that the *Kebei* (American-born Japanese who have spent several years in Japan for purported educational purposes) are definitely in the "suspect" class as far as loyalty to the United States is concerned. The committee finds that the *Nisei* (American-born Japanese) were, to a great extent, engaged in pro-Japanese activities before Pearl Harbor. Many of these American-born Japanese are disloyal to the United States, while many of them have illustrated by their conduct since Pearl Harbor their loyalty to the land of their birth.²⁴

The Committee's view of the Japanese "danger" was at considerable variance with other studies of the problem. Professor Morton Grodzins, of the University of Chicago, pointed out that

In the absence of more compelling, direct proof [of Japanese subversion], the public arguments dwelt largely on special dangers of the Japanese population, and these allegations were also largely without basis. It was not true that Japanese refused to cooperate with government intelligence agencies. It was not true that the dual citizenship status of some Japanese Americans was a unique mark of divided loyalties. It was not true that distribution of Japanese-held property showed migration for the purpose of sabotage. It was not true that the retention of Old World culture patterns was either a sign of special danger or different from other minority groups. It was not true . . . that the Japanese race, as such, was inscrutable, that a "good" Japanese could not be distinguished from a "bad" one, or that loyalty was a matter of biology.²⁵

In addition to its investigation of alleged Japanese subversion, the Committee connected the Japanese problem to the ubiquitous Communist menace. Basing its conclusions largely on the editorial policy of the Communist newspaper, *The People's Daily World*, the Committee summarized the Communist Party line in 1942:

All Communists are ordered to minimize the Japanese danger. All large military efforts in the United States must be directed to Europe. Our immediate task is the defeat of Hitler and the protection of the Soviet Union. Smear anyone who advocates major activities against Japan at the present time. Our historic course with Japan will be determined at the conclusion of the war with Germany. Meanwhile our traditional role as the champion of racial equality must be maintained.²⁶

The Committee further concluded, although without offering substantive evidence, that the Communists had made inroads into the Japanese population of California and that any future Communist policy on Japan would be determined by the demands of Soviet foreign policy. This part of the Committee's assessment was probably accurate, but the fact that the American Communist Party parroted the Soviet line was hardly a revelation from on high.

III

During World War II, the Committee spent considerable time and effort investigating the Sinarquista movement.²⁷ The Sinarquistas were an authoritarian group that originated in Mexico in 1937, as the result of a merger of several native Mexican groups with another organization called Centro Anti-Comunista. The latter organization had been founded in the state of Guanajuato by a German engineer and college teacher named Oscar Schreiter. The Sinarquistas were strongly religious and militantly anti-Communist. They emphasized strong discipline, followed a stern moral code, and practiced an intense patriotism, but strongly at odds with the official anticlericalism of the Mexican revolution. Their organization was semimilitary in character and their economic beliefs contained substantial elements of corporatism. The Sinarquista movement in the United States was strongest in Southern California and drew its members mainly from middle-class Mexican nationals.

The Committee became interested in the Sinarquistas in 1942,

as a result of attacks on them in the Communist press. The Communists accused the Sinarquistas of organizing a Fascist fifth-column among Mexican-American youth, particularly in the zoot-suit gangs. Later, the Communists would hold them partially responsible for the Zoot-Suit Riots of 1943. The Committee, in its investigation of the Zoot-Suit Riots, placed the blame squarely on the Communists.²⁸ Consequently, the Committee's investigation of the Sinarquistas deals at length with Communist or alleged Communist activities in Southern California.

The Committee often appeared to be more concerned with Communist than with Sinarquista activities. One of the Committee's stated purposes in conducting the investigation was to determine if the attack on the Sinarquistas was "merely another smear campaign by American Communists for their own sinister purposes."²⁹ A number of people were subpoenaed in order to substantiate charges that had been made against the Sinarquistas. The Committee's questioning of Philip M. Connelly, State CIO President, demonstrated its purposes:

- Q. Then . . . if I understand your testimony correctly, you have no interest or have you made any allegations in reference to the *Sinarquista* movement?
- A. [Connelly] We would be interested . . . in any fifth column activities which might manifest itself in our unions, either to the detriment of the unions or the detriment of this country.
- Q. Any organization that would be disruptive to the organization?
- A. Any fifth column organization, indeed.
- Q. Would that include the Communist Party?
- A. In the event the Communist Party proved to be such a disruptive and fifth column organization, it certainly would.
- Q. Do you feel that it is such an organization?
- A. I am in no position to pass judgment on that. I have no evidence on which to base an answer.
- Q. You have had no connection with or knowledge of the Communist Party and its activities?
- A. That is a broad question. I have general knowledge that there is a Communist Party.
- Q. Well, from your knowledge of the Communist Party would you say it would be a subversive organization?
- A. I have no knowledge to indicate it is.³⁰

The Committee took similar testimony from Sinarquista leaders,

in line with its objective of determining the truth in the dispute between Sinarquistas and Communists.³¹ After reading into the record an article that accused the Sinarquistas of being the most dangerous Fascist movement in Hispanic America, the Committee elicited the following testimony from Pedro Villaseñor, chief of the Los Angeles Sinarquista organization:

Q. [Combs] Have you ever seen that before, or anything similar?

A. [Villaseñor] No, I haven't read it.

Q. Is anything contained in the article true?

A. Absolutely nothing.

Q. It is absolutely false?

A. I was — I am just surprised all these people who lie about the movement over there.

.....
Q. It is your opinion, Mr. Villaseñor, that most of these attacks and most of this which you have termed propaganda against your movement, is inspired from Communist sources?

A. (Nods head affirmatively) — yes, sir.

Q. Your movement is very militantly and very aggressively anti-Communist?

A. Yes, sir; absolutely.

Q. One of the principal tenets of your organization —

A. (Interrupting) One of the principles because the Communists in Mexico have done very much to harm the country. They agitate the country, the people, and it is one of the principles of the *Sinarquistas* to be against the ideas of the Communists.³²

The testimony taken from Martín Cabrera, Southern California chief of the Sinarquistas, followed much the same pattern as Villaseñor's:

Q. [Combs] Is your organization anti-Communist?

A. [Cabrera] Definitely, yes.

Q. Very much, isn't it?

A. Very much, yes.

Q. And always has been?

A. Always has been.

.....
Q. Is it your feeling that the Communist Party played any part in the stirring up the recent zoot suit controversy?

A. It is almost a rule whenever they try to put the blame on somebody else, it is a general rule, because they have something themselves.

Q. I see. And have they in this instance endeavored to do that?

A. They have always been trying to put the blame on the *Smarquista's* shoulders³³

The Committee followed its investigation of the Sinarquista movement with conclusions that amounted to a clean bill of health:

Committee investigators could find nothing conspiratorial in the manner in which the organization conducted its affairs and nothing was found in the principals [*sic*] and objectives of the organization indicating an attack upon the Government of the United States or the State of California. Representatives of the Catholic Church were interviewed by committee representatives and it was learned that, so far as the Church was concerned, the *Sinarquista* movement was not considered "subversive."³⁴

The Committee's report on the John Birch Society was made public in 1963.³⁵ As always, the Committee's investigations of the Birch Society was done entirely in secret. The Committee's action had come about partly through its own interest in the Society, partly because of demands by the Society's critics that it be investigated, and partly because members of the Society, including founder Robert Welch, had requested an investigation. The information used by the Committee was obtained from newspaper and periodical accounts, from the Committee's own field investigators, and from affidavits by both friends and opponents of the Society. According to Senator Burns, the Committee's stated purpose was as follows:

As to the John Birch Society, some thought should be given to the function of our committee in relation to the society. Our committee is a factfinding committee in un-American activities. Our sole interest in the John Birch Society must go to the question of whether the society is un-American. We are not interested in investigating the John Birch Society to find out what its views are on Communism. We are only interested in finding out whether the John Birch Society is un-American.³⁶

The Committee's report took issue with several of the more extreme statements of Robert Welch. It denied strongly Welch's accusation in *The Politician* that Allen and John Foster Dulles were agents of the Communist conspiracy. It also refuted Welch's charges that Presidents Roosevelt, Truman, and Eisenhower contributed to that alleged conspiracy. The Committee took issue with Welch's contention that Boris Pasternak's *Dr. Zhivago* had been allowed to circulate in the United States as part of an insidious Kremlin-led master plan to subtly convert Americans to Marxism.³⁷ Despite its general refutation of Welch's statements, the Committee did not entirely connect Welch and the Society.

In a portion of its report on the Birch Society labeled "Guilt by Association," the Committee, consistent with its past behavior, endorsed the idea of judging a man by the company he keeps, but strictly qualified this view for members of the Birch Society:

the inescapable conclusion is that few members agree with Welch that the national figures mentioned in *The Politician* were subversive — consciously or otherwise — or that the Kremlin concocted the finely spun plots to circulate the books by Pasternak and Djilas. On the contrary, there is much evidence to the effect that many of the society's national council members have vainly asked Welch to repudiate the views he expressed in this sensational letter of 1954, and that most of the Birchers regard Welch's early accusations as indefensible and ridiculous.³⁸

The Committee further dismisses the charge that the Birch Society was somehow linked with various other anti-Communist, right-wing organizations, as had been indicated by the California Teachers Association's Research Department. The Committee's report included a list of such organizations, but no attempt was made to establish whether any interlocking arrangement existed among these various groups. Certainly, the Committee was much more careful about assuming extensive and even sinister connections among these groups than it had been in previous investigations of left-wing or liberal organizations.

The Committee also refuted charges that the Society was anti-Semitic, secretive, conspiratorial, and fascistic.³⁹ It expressed considerable sympathy with the general caliber of the Society's members, viewing them as sincere people genuinely concerned about the possible expansion of world Communism and internal Communist subversion. The Committee reiterated that few members agreed with the "rash statements" of Mr. Welch, but found the Society to be an effective instrument for contributing to the fight against the Communists. Some members of the Society are "highly emotional and unstable," but the average member is well informed, avidly reading much of the material available on subversion, particularly that on the approved book list of the Society.⁴⁰

The attitudes and response of the Communist Party to the Birch Society were of particular interest to the Committee, confirming once again the fact that no Committee investigation is ever solely an investigation of "non-Communist" activities. In its observation

of the Communists' campaign to discredit the Birch Society, the Committee stated a familiar theme:

Now, obviously, one must not fall into the error of lumping all critics of the John Birch Society with this Communist-motivated drive by the old united front techniques which we have often described in previous reports. But neither should we be blind to the unified and massive nature of the movement. The Communists have long employed this highly effective technique, most dramatically during the last war, and on numerous occasions with incredible skill and success. They are adept at selecting a particularly offensive phrase, or a susceptible organization and using it indiscriminately against all anti-Communists.⁴¹

The Committee, though warning, as noted above, of categorizing critics of the Birch Society, leaves a strong implication that almost inevitably the Communist line of the Birchers will filter into the thinking of legitimately anti-Birch groups and individuals, and thus once again sincere Americans will become inadvertent accomplices of Communism.

The Committee reached the following conclusions about the John Birch Society:

We find the John Birch Society to be a Right, anti-Communist, fundamentalist organization. It was conceived, organized, and is dominated by Mr. Robert Welch. . . . The accusations he made in *The Politician* in 1954 are shared by few of his followers, but he has since made other declarations that are as irresponsible and insusceptible of proof. We have not found the society to be either a secret or a fascist organization, nor have we found the great majority of its members in California to be mentally unstable, crackpots, or hysterical about the threat of Communist subversion.

.....
We believe that the reason the John Birch Society has attracted so many members is that it simply appeared to them the most effective, indeed the only, organization through which they could join in a nationwide movement to learn the truth about the Communist menace and then take some positive action to prevent its spread.⁴²

IV

In its investigations of racist organizations, the Committee concentrated most of its efforts on the Black Muslim movement.⁴³ By definition, "racist organization" means one that preaches race hatred, race separation, or the superiority of one race over another. The Committee's reports on the Muslims are substantially devoted to drawing parallels between them and the Communist Party, but

refute charges (the origin of which is not made clear) that the Muslims are pro-Communist or pro-Soviet in their orientation. Their "anti-white fanaticism" prohibits their submergence in any organization or group largely controlled by whites.⁴⁴

The Committee saw many similarities between the Muslims and the Communists. Both are associated with a movement that gives them great hope, dedication, and purpose. Both are fanatical and willing to resort to the use of violence for their own purposes, although the Committee did not thoroughly document its charges of violence against the Muslims. It compared Muslim willingness to use "war" against the white man with Communist support for "wars of national liberation." Both Muslims and Communists, according to the Committee, subscribe to the belief that the end justifies the means.⁴⁵

From its concern with future Communist strategy, the Committee concluded that Communist attitudes toward the Muslims are similar to their views of the Trotskyites in 1940, at the time of the first Smith Act trials. Then the Communists, fearing the competition of the Trotskyites for the allegiance of radical socialists, supported the Smith Act convictions of their competitors, although in 1949, during the trial of Communist Party leaders, they decried the act as unconstitutional and designed to restrict free speech. The Committee's implication was that the Communists, fearing Muslim competition, would act toward prosecutions of the Muslims as they did toward the Trotskyites. At best, this analogy seems rather strained.

The Committee's conclusions as to the true nature of the Black Muslims have varied somewhat at different times:

Now there is another group that is competing with the Communists for the Negro minority. It, too, is based on force and violence and class hatred. It, too, operates in secrecy and is based on a fanatic adherence to a potent ideology. It, too, advocates the forcible overthrow of the government, indeed, of the entire white race.⁴⁶

The Committee's tone was completely hostile in the report of Muslim activities made in 1961 (above), but showed much less stridency and a greater awareness of complexity two years later:

While it is true that the Black Muslim has preached a hatred of white people, there is no question about its accomplishing much good for many of its own

members. . . . This rigid discipline and fanatic faith have produced amazing results in rehabilitating many semi-literate Negroes who were alcoholics, drug addicts, and habitual criminals.⁴⁷

In addition to its general denunciation of the Black Muslims, the Committee has condemned as "hate groups" the Ku Klux Klan, the American Nazi Party, and the National States Rights Party.⁴⁸ The latter, particularly, was regarded by the Committee as "more potentially dangerous than . . . the American Nazi groups," because of its activist nature. Committee investigation of these organizations has not been extensive enough to warrant further space in this article, except that the Committee considers them to be dangerous and subversive organizations.

V

No assessment of the State Un-American Activities Committee's investigation of non-Communist organizations can really be separated from its investigation of Communism. Limiting the influence of Communism has always been the principal *raison d'être* of the Committee, and doubtless this will be true as long as there is a Committee. Nearly 90 percent of the Committee's major reports has been primarily concerned with Communism and, even in investigations of non-Communist groups, Communism has been an important related issue. This has been done by showing parallels between Communist and non-Communist organizations by frequent reiterations of the need to be aware of the Communist danger and by continually demonstrating how people, although they might be misled by other organizations, are much more likely to be "used" or "duped" by Communists. The Committee never fails to show relationships of some type with the Communists, as in the investigations of the Sinarquistas, the German-American Bund, the Japanese, and the Black Muslims. The result has been a less than thorough effort to establish "un-Americanism" among right-wing groups.

The validity of conclusions by any investigating committee in a democratic society must stand or fall on the question of how well that committee adheres to democratic principles. In this respect,

the State Un-American Activities Committee has serious shortcomings. The Committee holds its hearings in secret and keeps confidential the manner in which it obtains information. It closes its files to public scrutiny and restricts severely the availability of investigative transcripts. It relies on the testimony of its own "experts," divides witnesses into "friendly" and "hostile," asks the type of question that will elicit the desired response, and frequently unbalances testimony on the side of an issue that it favors. It endorses the validity of "guilt by association," but applies this principle with much greater rigidity to left-liberal organizations than it does to right-wing groups. This point can be validated by comparing the Committee's respective attitudes toward the American Civil Liberties Union and the John Birch Society.

The Committee's reports are "edited." They do not include full, verbatim reporting of Committee investigations, but rather select the material that the Committee wants to include in order to substantiate its own conclusions. The most careful, objective scholar would have great difficulty assessing an issue or an organization from the Committee's reports alone.

Finally, for any legislative committee to conduct fair investigations, particularly on a subject as sensitive as alleged subversive activities, it is mandatory that the committee's membership reflect the ideological composition of the legislature. It should include liberals, conservatives, and if possible, other ideological shadings. One liberal failing over the years has been a reluctance to serve on "subversive activities" committees. The result of this, particularly in California, has been right-wing dominance by default. The liberals' general view that "un-Americanism" is indefinable, and therefore any attempt to investigate un-American activities is *ipso facto* a fallacy, is perhaps accurate, but this has resulted in one-sided, unfair, and often abusive investigations. The former Congressman from Georgia, Charles Weltner, expressed this view in explaining his decision to become a member of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. It is a logical view. Neither the anti-Communism-run-rampant of Jack Tenney nor the clandestine operations of Richard Combs would be possible if investigating committees were composed of the diverse elements which inspire free, democratic debate.

NOTES

1. Fully cited as: California Legislature, *Report: Joint Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities in California*. With the report for 1948, substitute "Senate" for "Joint" Fact-Finding Committee. Henceforth to be cited as *First Report*, *Second Report*, etc. The reports noted above are: *First Report* (1943); *Second Report* (1945); *Eleventh Report* (1961); *Twelfth Report* (1963); *Thirteenth Report* (1965); and *Thirteenth Report Supplement* (1966).

2. These categories are largely based on distinctions made by the Committee itself. The Committee also makes a distinction between Nazi and Fascist.

3. For the Committee's investigation of Mankind United, see *First Report*, pp. 353-382, and *Second Report*, pp. 32-45.

4. Edward L. Barrett, Jr., *The Tenney Committee: Legislative Investigation of Subversive Activities in California* (Ithaca, New York, 1951), p. 5.

5. The Dies Committee was the U. S. House of Representatives' Temporary Committee to Investigate Subversive Activities, chaired by Representative Martin Dies of Texas. It was the forerunner of the present House Committee on Un-American Activities.

6. Barrett, *The Tenney Committee*, p. 5. Excerpt taken from *Hollywood Now*, publication of the Hollywood Anti-Nazi League.

7. *Fourth Report*, p. 51.

8. Jack B. Tenney, *The Tenney Committee: The American Record* (Tujunga, California, 1952), pp. 5-6. Throughout his book, Senator Tenney refers to himself in third person.

9. See Barrett, *The Tenney Committee*, pp. 315-329; also, Tenney's defense, in his own book, pp. 24-31.

10. Mary Ellen Leary, "California's Lonely Secret Agent," *Los Angeles Times West Magazine* (April 2, 1967), pp. 34-35.

11. For the Committee's investigations of Nazism, see *First Report*, pp. 218-352, and *Second Report*, pp. 7-31, 45-65.

12. *First Report*, p. 275.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 227.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 229.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 247.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 273.

17. *Ibid.*, pp. 282-321.

18. For an examination of Nazi activities in America, see John Roy Carlson, *Under Cover* (New York, 1943).

19. *First Report*, pp. 325-328, 329-330, 337-338, 346-352.
20. Morton Grodzins, *Americans Betrayed: Politics and the Japanese Evacuations* (Chicago, 1949), p. 50.
21. *Ibid.*, p. 51.
22. *First Report*, p. 350.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 352.
24. *Second Report*, pp. 64-65.
25. Grodzins, *Americans Betrayed*, pp. 170-171.
26. *Second Report*, p. 60.
27. For the Committee's investigations of the Sinarquistas, see *First Report*, pp. 200-217, and *Second Report*, pp. 197-210.
28. *Second Report*, p. 209.
29. *First Report*, p. 208.
30. *Ibid.*, pp. 210-211.
31. *Second Report*, p. 198.
32. *Ibid.*, p. 204.
33. *Ibid.*, p. 206.
34. *Ibid.*, pp. 206-207.
35. For the Committee's investigation of the John Birch Society see *Twelfth Report*, pp. 1-62.
36. *Ibid.*, p. 2.
37. *Ibid.*, pp. 5-11.
38. *Ibid.*, pp. 12-13.
39. *Ibid.*, pp. 38-39.
40. *Ibid.*, pp. 42-43.
41. *Ibid.*, p. 50.
42. *Ibid.*, pp. 61-62.
43. For the Committee's investigations of the Black Muslims, see *Eleventh Report*, pp. 131-137, and *Twelfth Report*, pp. 194-196.
44. *Eleventh Report*, p. 135.
45. *Ibid.*, pp. 136-137.
46. *Ibid.*, p. 138.
47. *Twelfth Report*, p. 195.
48. *Ibid.*, pp. 197-198.

A Salute to the Port of Los Angeles From Mud Flats to Modern Day Miracle

By ANNA MARIE HAGER

IT IS DIFFICULT to visualize all the changes that have transpired since Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo's initial entry into the wide, placid bay now called the Port of Los Angeles.

From his anchorage at Catalina Island in 1542, Rodríguez Cabrillo was beckoned into the large bay by the billowing clouds of smoke towering over a slooping hill that loomed high over the coastline. Besides the smoke, he observed the steep yellow bluffs banking the shoreline, encircling a broad roadstead that he promptly named the Bahía de los Fumos (Bay of Smokes).

Fifty years after Rodríguez's visit, Sebastián Vizcaíno entered the beautiful large bay and gave it another name, San Andrés. When cosmographer, José González Cabrera Bueno began to compile nautical charts from the Vizcaíno surveys an error was discovered. The day on which Vizcaíno actually entered the bay was the feast day of Saint Peter's. Cabrera Bueno made the correction, and ever since 1592 the name officially established has been San Pedro.

Time will not permit me to dwell on the many dedicated men of vision and foresight who realized the great potentials for a splendid commercial harbor waiting to be developed in San Pedro Bay. I can only salute such noted names as Domínguez, Sepúlveda, Abel Stearns, Phineas T. Banning, John Gaffey, and Stephen Mallory White, as well as members of the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce, for their untiring efforts in behalf of the future "Gateway to the World." Acknowledgement should be given to those civil and public servants who helped carry to fruition the dreams for a great harbor — men such as Captain Amos A. Fries, Clarence Matson, Eloi Amar, and Bernard Coughlin.

It was through the ingenuity of many men, some of great engineering skill, that a great transformation of an island-filled, marsh-lined bay has taken place.

Phineas T. Banning was one of these men of ingenuity. He, along with Joseph and Robert Widney, was instrumental in having Los Angeles placed on the Southern Pacific Railroad line running from San Francisco through the San Joaquín Valley eastward to Texas. In 1855 Banning secured an appropriation from the state legislature to establish a road from San Pedro to Cajón Pass in the direction of Salt Lake City. It was on this road that one of the earliest overland mail services was inaugurated. Drum Barracks, the Los Angeles and San Pedro

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Railway, and the first breakwater were all brought about by Banning's great activating force in the harbor district from 1852 until his death in 1885.

George H. Peck, a second man of ingenuity in the development of San Pedro during this early period, first saw the harbor area in the 1870's. As a young adult and as an astute purchaser, he eventually acquired much of San Pedro and over one-half of Manhattan Beach. He is credited as the developer of the Point Fermín Peninsula and founder of the Bank of San Pedro. Peck was revered by the working people of the harbor area for his understanding and generosity during times of unemployment and personal disasters. He donated over 150 acres of land for parks as well as establishing a two million dollar trust fund for the maintenance and beautification of these lands. Leland and Alma Parks are named for two of his children, and the vast 77-acre scenic park adjacent to Western Avenue was named Peck Park in honor of the donor.

Actual Los Angeles interest in the harbor district had its rebirth with the fading of the Boom of the Eighties. Interest was revived with the establishment of the Los Angeles Terminal Railway that ran from the city of Los Angeles to Rattlesnake Island. (Later this line was purchased and changed to the Salt Lake, Los Angeles and Terminal Railway.) With this new business venture entering the San Pedro waterfront the Southern Pacific Railroad lost its almost complete freight monopoly. Faced with competition, the Southern Pacific sought a harbor of its own at Santa Monica where it controlled the entire waterfront.

This marked the beginning of the "Free Harbor" fight.

In 1889, as members of the United States Senate Committee on Commerce, Senators Leland Stanford and William B. Frye visited the San Pedro Bay. Senator Frye of Maine favored Santa Monica over San Pedro. To say the least, he was quite prejudiced, and he failed to make a favorable impression in Southern California because of his comments concerning San Pedro:

Deadman's Island! Rattlesnake! I should think it would scare a mariner to death to come into such a place! You people in southern California propose to ask the government to create a harbor for you, almost out of whole cloth. The Lord has not given you much to start with, that is certain. It will cost four or five million to build, you say: well — is your whole country worth that much?

The harbor battle lasted five years, United States Senator Stephen Mallory White was the dominant figure in winning the victory for a "Free Harbor" at San Pedro. Despite Senator Frye's comments about Deadman's and Rattlesnake islands, in 1897 the Walker Board claimed San Pedro Bay the best location for a harbor.

Almost as important and as interesting as the "Free Harbor Fight" were the several small islands that were located in the Inner Bay before dredging and other operations tied them to the mainland. Although there were four islands worth mentioning — Mormon, Boschke (now known as Smith), Deadman's, and Rattlesnake, only the latter two merit a historical account.

The largest island, Deadman's, blocked the entrance to the Inner Bay. It

remained unnamed for more than 250 years although it was duly recorded on the early charts of Vizcaíno and other explorers. About 1810, Southern Californians began referring to the 800-foot long, 250-foot wide and 60-foot high island as La Isla del Muerto. This the Yankees quickly Americanized to "Deadman's Island!"

The conical peaked island faced the blue Pacific and served as a familiar landmark and guide to mariners when seeking refuge from storms at sea. In addition, for many years the island served a most prosaic humane need. It was a cemetery that protected the dead buried there from the ravages of the "robbers of the plains," the prowling coyotes. Yet, not all who found final resting place on Deadman's Island were mariners as would be expected. The wife of Captain Parker of the ship *Laura Bevan* became part of the island's ghostly crew; so did Black Hawk, the last male Indian from San Nicolás Island.

The dead, however, did not enjoy the privacy of the island. Legends of hidden pirate plunder lured fortune hunters to literally honeycomb the island's surface. Later numerous souvenir seekers and visitors to the island desecrated nature even more. Unfortunately many happy summers were spent by the local "Tom Sawyers" prowling over the island. In 1893, six local "Toms" uncovered a rough, redwood coffin and reported their findings to the authorities. Various civic and military agencies including an English society in Los Angeles took charge of exhuming the bodies to a more fitting and final place of rest.

Somewhat more respectful and thoughtful was the activity of one-time writer-sportsman Charles Frederick Holder. He urged that a suitable monument to Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo be placed on Deadman's Island. This idea, however, failed to materialize and the island continued to be used for various recreational activities.

When prohibition came on the scene, rum-runners appreciated the vantage-point the island offered — its sides pitted with numerous small caves proved most convenient for storing contraband liquids. Such use of the island, however, came to an abrupt end with the repeal of Prohibition. The rapid growth of the harbor in the late 1920's marked Deadman's Island as an obstruction to navigation and led to its eventual destruction.

Dynamite and dredgers revealed the little island's many secrets. When a large portion of the westerly end was torn away, some fifteen human skeletons were revealed. One skull was pierced with an ancient stone arrowhead dating it back to primitive Indian days. On June 1, 1929, the last heavy blast uncovered three adjacent graves — two men and a woman. Above the woman's head was a mass of red-gold hair, the men wore the overfold boots characteristic of the sixteenth century. The hilt of an ancient cutlass lay by the side of one.

The island, however, was not to reveal any further secrets. A thousand-foot channel necessary for the continued development and growth of the Port of Los Angeles necessitated the demolition of this historic landmark. The residue of Deadman's Island was added to the southerly end of Terminal Island's Reservation Point.

Before its destruction, countless tourists, school children, and treasure seekers scoured the little island. Who tallied their finds or kept record of what they saw

or disturbed? Speculation keeps the memory of this strange, vanished island of a never-ending interest.

Not as intriguing as Deadman's Island, but of greater historical importance was Rattlesnake Island. Because of the thousands of rattlesnakes that were being washed out of their mountain homes and carried down by torrential rains to a spit of sand dunes in San Pedro Bay, the Spaniards gave the picturesque name La Isla de la Culebra de Cascabel (Island of the Rattlesnake) to the little sandbar. All too soon another lilting Spanish name was brusquely shortened to Rattlesnake and later renamed Terminal when the Terminal Railway Line was completed.

On the ocean side of Terminal Island's west end, a beautiful bathing area was to be found. Named Brighton Beach, it soon became the Mecca of the southland. The beach receded gradually, the water being quite shallow permitted bathers to go out a considerable distance into the blue waters of the Bay.

Brighton Beach was soon developed into a most exclusive seaside resort and was considered second only to San Diego's famed Coronado. Other diversions besides swimming included the excitement of rowing by moonlight in and out of the sloughs of Wilmington and around Mormon Island. Or, if a person thought he or she could stand the pace, churn up the waters by day in launches guaranteed to do all of twelve miles an hour, "if you opened 'em up!"

So attractive was Brighton Beach to Jackson A. Graves, president of the Farmers & Merchants Bank, that he devoted a chapter in his autobiography, *Seventy Years in California*, to his Terminal Island home (built in 1889) and to the summers he spent there. Graves wrote:

What a wonderful place Brighton Beach was for bathing and the grand sight to sit on our porch and watch the summer storms. Waves would come in towards shore that were much higher than our house. A stranger would have thought that everything would be enveloped—but owing to the shallowness of the water, the bottom of the wave would drag, and cause the mass of water to fall before it reached the shore-line.

More than 200 homes were established in or adjacent to the resort area. Homes on Seaside Avenue, the main thoroughfare, stood facing south with the sea rippling across the tawny sands within 25 feet of their doorsteps. The homes were decorated in the elegance which prevailed in that era: ornamental mantels with plush runners from which dangled rows of little furry balls; snapshot albums piled high on marble-topped tables; portieres made of hundreds of tiny seashells carefully and lovingly sewn together; and the inevitable clusters of fringe-edged pillows embroidered with words and pictures with such choice mottoes as "Daisies won't tell!"

Other important residents of Brighton Beach included Judge Russ Avery, Harry Callender, Joseph F. Sartori, Sumner P. Hunt, C. D. Willard, Ferdinand K. Rule, William Bosbyshell, J. S. Slauson, Thomas E. Gibbons, and W. D. Woolwine. Gail Borden of condensed milk fame brought his family to the resort for several years before selling his fine home to W. I. Hollingsworth.

Besides houses, Terminal Island had the usual resort hotel of that era. The

island's first hotel, the Glenburnie, became very popular, and many prominent families spent their summers there. Such noted personalities as Mr. and Mrs. W. H. Holladay, Francis J. Thomas, Hugh Vail, H. L. Macneil and their son Sayre, Mrs. Kate Vosburg and her sons Murray and Keith, Harry Carr, and Judge and Mrs. Charles Silent and their daughter Florence registered at the Glenburnie.

Incidentally, it was Florence Silent who shocked the little colony one fine summer day by appearing in a knee-length black taffeta bathing suit. Indeed, the puffed sleeves came almost to her elbows and her black shoes and stockings hid her limbs. It was a daring departure that kept neighbors talking.

Brighton Beach, like other natural monuments, fell before Los Angeles' environmental onslaught. The construction of the massive breakwater wrought tremendous physical changes within the bay. Miles and miles of white sand were pumped out when excavation began in the Inner Harbor. The sand was then deposited in front of Brighton Beach. Where the ocean once came to within twenty-five feet of the fine beach homes, the water's edge receded almost a mile away. Prominent home owners soon lost interest and forsook Brighton Beach for newer resorts.

Not all the activity was confined to Brighton Beach, Terminal Island's west end. Tiny huts on stilts, much like barnacles, clung to the sand spit of government tidelands on the bay side of the old breakwater between Terminal and Deadman's Island. Soon a little town emerged without the benefit of being surveyed or "laid out," in an orderly manner. The little buildings straggled along in haphazardous clusters and were "home" for a group of squatters, fishermen, and artists. These unauthorized residents lived in almost daily expectation of being ordered to "move on," and consequently did not build substantial homes as those erected on Brighton Beach. This area received the name of East San Pedro and its population, in addition to the artist colony, consisted of Italians, Spaniards, Frenchmen, Yugoslavians, and Scandinavians.

The picturesque lives of these seafaring people attracted a considerable group of artists and writers. Idah Meecham Strowbridge is credited as the literary discoverer of the colorful waterfront "stilt-town." She converted an old bathhouse into a distinctive cottage and named it the "Wickiup." Soon Amanda Matthews, Olive Percival, and other well-known writers chose the place to combine recreation and study during the summer months.

Perhaps, one of the more spectacular summer residents was Charles Fletcher Lummis, former Librarian of the Los Angeles Public Library, City Editor for the *Los Angeles Times*, and founder of the Southwest Museum. In a letter to John Cotton Dana, dated 1908, Lummis described his East San Pedro homelife:

I dictate while fishing on week-ends at my little shack, the "Jib-O-Jib," on the old breakwater. The tides run up under the house and we catch good big fish, like halibut or rock bass from the back porch. A bed spring with a cow bell on it holds each line. When the back door bell rings, we stampede out to give a glad hand to our finny guest. It is remarkable how easy fish learn good manners.

In addition to the eccentric Lummis, East San Pedro numbered other important personalities. Ralph Mocine, Carl Oscar Borg, John M. Donovan, William H. Cole, Norman St. Claire, and Lillian Draine were some of the artists who lived in the seaside colony.

This phase of Terminal Island's history came to an end when the little shacks were condemned and destroyed to facilitate dredging and improvement of the Main Channel.

With the 1909 annexation of San Pedro and Wilmington as well as of the marshy tidelands and of Terminal Island to the rapidly growing and ambitious city of Los Angeles, change was confirmed.

The proud old summer houses of Brighton Beach developed into year-round residences for workers in the lumberyards, canneries, and oil companies. People began going to the island on business rather than for pleasure. Finally, numerous man-made additions changed the contour and enlarged Terminal Island.

With the beginning of World War II, all residents were removed from Terminal Island, approximately two thousand Caucasians and three thousand Japanese left — never to return to their island homes again.

One lone reminder of the days when Terminal Island was home to thousands remains on Ocean Avenue, the small, one-time school house. All other structures were razed to make room for necessary military expansion in the harbor area. Now only place and street names remain to evoke hidden memories of the not so distant past that was Terminal Island's.

Subsidence plagued the island during the 1950's until conquered through the miracle of modern-day engineering. A constant din of industry can now be heard throughout the Island. Enormous ships load and unload at the huge docks. Shipbuilding yards and their massive ways are visible, and long rows of canneries and manufacturing firms dot the area — all contribute to the sounds of present-day Terminal Island in the Bay.

The new United States Custom House on Terminal Island will soon be joined by the official headquarters of the Los Angeles Harbor Department.

Tying the Island to the mainland is the soaring and beautiful Vincent Thomas Bridge, spanning the Main Channel — Southern California's first major suspension bridge. The toll station for the bridge occupies the area once known as Brighton Beach.

The tremendous transformation of an expanse of mud flats into a port, one of the busiest in the world, in only a few decades, is an engineering miracle. Los Angeles has truly become the gateway through which products of the entire southwest reach the farthest corners of the globe.

In tribute to a great lady, Mabel Ward Cory, librarian in the harbor area for over thirty years, and counselor and guide for hundreds of young men and women, I should like to read one of her poems about her hometown and mine.

My home is in a sunny town
That wades knee-deep in tide
To welcome all the sailing world
With sea-wall arms flung wide.
Behind the town stand noble hills
To greet the rising sun,
As green as Ireland when the rains
Of winter have begun.
Along the streets that climb and turn
dark foreign faces pass,
A black-haired man with steady eyes,
a gaily kerchiefed lass.
Bright flags are moored along our wharves
From countries far away,
And fishing fleets go out at dawn
across a silver bay.
I would not live in Amsterdam,
in Rome, or Arcady,
But only in this little town
at crossroads of the sea.
Thank you.

The Gianninis—Men of the Renaissance

By DWIGHT L. CLARKE

II

A. P. GIANNINI and his youngest brother, George, closely resembled each other facially, although George was taller and heavier. George in manner was more quiet and did not exert the magnetism for which A. P. was noted. Attilio Henry was the middle brother. He had sharper, more Italian features than the other two, and while of overaverage height was shorter and of lighter build than his brothers. He was very erect and habitually quick in his movements and his speech. In profile, he resembled some of the heads one sees on Roman coins. More than one portrait on the walls of the Medici Gallery bears a close resemblance to Doctor A. H. Giannini.

Known to all his familiars as "Doc," he was born near Alviso, Santa Clara County, in 1874. While still a small boy, his family moved to San Francisco where he was educated in the public schools and at St. Ignatius College. Then he entered the University of California's Medical School where he obtained his degree of Doctor of Medicine in 1897. He started to practice his profession in San Francisco and in time became president of the County Medical Society. He served in the United States Army Medical Corps in the Spanish-American War and won distinction in the typhoid wards and in the care of smallpox victims. After the April 1906 holocaust in San Francisco, when typhus fever became threatening and other doctors shunned the task, Dr. Giannini took charge of the pest house and cared for the victims of the epidemic.

He was a member of San Francisco's famous "reform" board of supervisors, appointed by another versatile medico, Mayor Edward Robeson Taylor, in his campaign to cleanse the city's administration after the downfall of the Ruef and Schmitz gang of boodling politicians. In this position Doctor Giannini played a prominent part in winning for San Francisco its Hetch Hetchy water system.

Even while still practicing medicine, he had doubled as a bank officer and started several of the earliest branches of the Bank of Italy, later to become the present Bank of America. Time devoted to the bank interfered more and more with his medical practice until he was forced to give up the latter. In 1919 he moved to New York and took charge of the Bowery East River National Bank when that institution was acquired by Bancitaly Corporation.

He remained there until 1931 when he returned to California to become the Bank of America's senior executive in Southern California with headquarters in Los Angeles. Therefore in the earlier years of my own close association with A. P. and Mario Giannini I had had no opportunity to become acquainted with the Doctor.

He and I first met in the spring of 1932 when he walked into the Bakersfield branch of the Bank of America, of which I was then vice-president and manager. After introducing himself, he told me he was driving through the valley and wanted to inquire about the roads leading to the coast. We had a brief but pleasant visit. The reason he gave for his call seemed so slight that in view of what transpired a few months later, I have sometimes thought the real purpose of that visit was to form his own opinion about me.

Later that summer while I was vacationing in Hawaii, Will Morrish, then president of the bank, asked me to return via San Francisco so that we could discuss an important matter. At that time the bank's Southern California business was divided into three districts, one covering the offices in Los Angeles and the other two the remaining branches in the ten southern counties. The executive vice-presidents in charge of these three districts were under Dr. Giannini's direction. Friction had developed between the Doctor and the heads of the two outlying districts. Management had decided to move these two officers to other posts and to consolidate their districts into one, under a single executive vice-president.

I learned all of this during my meeting with Morrish when I reached San Francisco. I was told that I had been selected for this new position and that Dr. Giannini had approved my appointment. Would I be willing to move to Los Angeles and undertake these responsibilities? This was an opportunity and a challenge; I soon accepted the assignment.

President Morrish and Dr. Giannini were good friends, yet Morrish and several of the other senior officers remarked during that interview that some men found it difficult to work with Dr. Giannini. His was a strong personality that on occasion clashed with others. I was diplomatically cautioned not to be discouraged if he was at times brusque or sharp tempered. The unspoken theme of that advice was "try to get along with Doc."

I must confess that I assumed my new position on September 7, 1932, with some trepidation. That was not caused so much by what I had heard in San Francisco as by the reception given me in Los Angeles by my two predecessors. Both had been my good friends for several years. They greeted me with mingled emotions, rejoicing for their own almost immediate departure — and long-faced commiseration for the horrible future in store for me. One of them cheerfully predicted my fate: "I give you not over six months!" According to this prophet of disaster, I was facing an experience worse than Dante's inferno. I had been informed that these gentlemen would remain in Los Angeles long enough to brief me on the problems, personalities, etc., of the branches I was taking over. They did, but "brief" best applies to the time they spent on this task. They literally had their bags packed awaiting my arrival and left before the day was over.

Dr. Giannini's own welcome was cordial and lacked any indication that I need fear the stormy weather that had been predicted.

"You've probably been told that I'm a tough guy to work with," he smiled cynically, "You don't need to admit it. I know the gang up north." (This was the term he frequently used in referring to the senior management of the bank in

San Francisco.) "I don't think I'm tough but I won't stand for four-flushers and doublecrossers. I can spot a phony as far as I can see him. Shoot straight with me and we'll get along fine."

He had much less to say about my predecessors than they had about him; his few remarks on that subject were tart and uncomplimentary. After that first interview I cannot recall that he ever again mentioned these officers. Within a week we were on the best of terms. We did not always agree about mutual problems, but the important thing was that he always respected my opinion, even when he good naturedly assured me I was wrong. In the nearly four years of our association our arguments, although sometimes spirited, never once were angry; an air of give and take always prevailed.

My orientation, while difficult enough, was made easier by the fact that my predecessors left behind them a corps of able assistants, headed by Ralph Rehorn, who ultimately succeeded me.

I soon discovered that although Doc occasionally lacked detailed information concerning questions we discussed, he displayed an uncanny intuition concerning individuals and the motives that governed them. All the Gianninis were more intuitive than the average man, but in this quality Doc excelled his brother and nephew. I visited my branches frequently; he rarely did, so the facts I gathered and his judgment of the personalities involved complemented each other. Within a short time we were working together smoothly. I also benefitted by a close observation of his methods of deduction and analysis.

Remembering Morrish's original admonition that I "try to get along with Doc," something happened in July, 1936, which seemed conclusive proof that I had succeeded. Dr. Giannini was then retiring from the bank to become president of United Artists. He had many warm friends who planned to give him a farewell banquet. There had to be a speaker who would express the group's esteem and good wishes. Doc was asked his preference. Although by that time I had left the bank to take over the management of the Occidental Life Insurance Company of California, Dr. Giannini told the committee that he would like me to deliver the address.

Dr. Giannini was just as much of an individualist as A. P. Some intimates of both men thought Doc warmer than his brother. He was more temperamental, quick to react either joyously or in anger. Perhaps the word volatile best describes his personality. When irritated he would at times fly into a rage and pepper his outbursts with picturesque profanity and pointed epithet. But though he could flare up easily, he would just as quickly subside. A saving grace was his keen sense of humor and underlying good nature; best of all, he could poke fun at himself. A favorite remark of his was, "Well, we have to have our laugh a day." What is too rare in temperamental persons, he was big enough to admit an error when he discovered that he had been mistaken in some word or action.

Dr. Giannini shared A. P.'s quality of boldness. He was proud of having started the school savings system of the Bank of Italy in its pioneer period. From its

beginning, he always maintained that the initial lack of profit would eventually be offset by this first contact with future potential depositors. Time amply justified this faith. He displayed the same courageous innovative spirit in motion picture financing. Like his brother, the fact that something had never been done before was no reason why it should not be tried. If a man seemed honest and appeared to the Doctor to know what he was doing, he would go a long way to help him.

I recall one instance where this courage and boldness meant the difference between success and failure for an infant enterprise. As Los Angeles began to emerge from the depression of the thirties, a group of local men put all their resources into a new project which they believed would fill a growing need in Southern California. They bought a large, well located tract and erected extensive, specialized improvements. By the time these were finished, the backers had run out of money. Especially in those uncertain times, a loan on untried, special purpose structures lacked any appeal to financial institutions. Yet the new enterprise had to have a sizeable amount of cash for operating expenses or it could not begin business. The promoters thought that the public would patronize the establishment the moment its doors opened. They requested help from the Bank of America. This was no usual, run of the mill loan application. The owners obviously were unable to point to any results achieved; all they had was a brand new, empty, silent plant and an idea. One needed imagination to associate success with it.

Dr. Giannini had known the leader of the enterprise as an honest man in a wholly different field. Doc took two or three of us to inspect the property.

"I'm almost certain this thing will pay," he told us, "they assure me all bills for construction have been paid, but now they are out of cash. Suppose somebody claims they owe an unpaid bill for labor or materials, he could sue and file a lien against all this property, also tie up any money we might have advanced. What shall we do about it?" We debated the pros and cons; the latter predominated. Even so, Doc sent for Edmund Nelson, one of the bank's attorneys. "The bank sometimes lends money and takes a trust receipt on personal property left in the hands of the borrower for its loan collateral. Can't you draw a trust receipt for the cash these people need for opening expenses? Our armored truck could take them the money each morning. The company would give our driver this trust receipt for the cash, and the truck would pick up the cash on hand at the end of the day and have it in our vaults overnight. We would repeat the process daily until these people can get on their feet. Can't you draft a trust receipt that will protect us?"

Nelson shook his head doubtfully. "I never heard of a trust receipt being used like this," he objected. "Let me research it and see if there are any cases in the law reports."

He did not find any but at Doc's insistence made tentative drafts of the required receipt and finally delivered one which he *hoped* would stand up in court against any attaching creditor. Doc gritted his teeth and for several weeks sent the armored truck twice daily to provide that concern with cash to operate until the hard pressed owners had accumulated enough profits to cover their requirements.

Because of such faith in the vision and courage of Dr. Charles Henry Strub, the bank put the beautiful Santa Anita Racetrack on its feet and started it on the long and still flourishing career that has brought employment to thousands and entertainment to millions.

Dr. Giannini displayed similar boldness when he weighed a calculated risk of another sort during the hectic "bank holidays" of 1933. On March 2 Governor Rolph of California proclaimed a holiday, and followed it with identical proclamations for several successive days. The specific purpose of these was to close every bank in the state. Other governors were taking similar action. Banks were failing all around the country at an alarming rate. The moment was undoubtedly the nadir of the great depression. A new president was about to be inaugurated and emergency legislation was being prepared for congressional action. As part of the bank closings, federal authorities issued regulations that prohibited withdrawals of funds from banks. This was soon modified to permit very limited withdrawals for the bare necessities of life. A moratorium suspended the enforcement of all manner of legal obligations, including penalties for nonpayment of taxes. The courts were closed and the wheels of commerce ground to a sudden stop.

The order prohibiting banks from paying any money to their depositors was short and deceptively simple. It did not provide for any exceptions except the necessities of life provision just mentioned. This was loosely construed as placing a maximum of \$25 per person per week on any withdrawal for subsistence.

In one of my branches we had a highly valued depositor operating a large wholesale produce business. One of its long established activities was the shipment from the west coast of Mexico of early tomatoes which it distributed through the East and Middle West in advance of the later ripening domestic crop. Just after the moratorium was clamped upon all withdrawals from banks, our customer had a train load of tomatoes arrive at the international border at Nogales, Arizona. United States Customs duty on the twenty odd refrigerator cars of tomatoes amounted, as I recall, to between seven and eight thousand dollars, payable in cash. Our customer had nearly two hundred thousand dollars to its credit in our bank. Ordinarily it drew cash for the amount of the duty, but the edict of the Comptroller of the Currency barred the bank from honoring this customer's perfectly good check. Now complications began to make the telephone and telegraph wires sizzle. Would not the Nogales collector accept our customer's check, which we agreed to certify? He would *not*. The western representative of the Comptroller's office was appealed to. He referred the case to Washington which did not answer.

Meanwhile the train load of tomatoes sat on the tracks south of the border; the ice in the refrigerator cars was steadily melting in the dry heat of the Arizona desert. The reicing station was just a few hundred yards down the track but *north* of the border. Would the collector permit the train to cross the line and move up to the icing plant? The collector would not; his regulations said the duty had to be paid in cash *before* the goods entered the United States.

The ice was getting low in those refrigerators but our customers' tempers

were rising even faster. We had carefully explained how our hands were tied. Heavy penalties would be incurred by us if we permitted the desired withdrawal. The officer responsible might even find himself in jail. The customer tartly replied that another federal law required it to pay the government some of the cash we were withholding; otherwise they faced the loss of an entire train load of perishables. We were reminded of the markets in New York, Chicago, and way points that were going to be deprived of tomatoes. We were told what the twenty carloads would bring on their arrival. We saw dark clouds rising that looked like a damage suit.

Doc and I had telephoned appeals to Senators, Congressmen, Cabinet officers and sundry vip.'s. Each had expressed concern — and politely referred us to some other official. We never talked to any one who would assume any responsibility. As the hours wore on, my profanity caught up with Doc's.

"Let's tell Washington," he finally snapped, "that we're not going to let those tomatoes rot, that if we don't get an answer by the close of business today, we're going to pay the necessary cash to the collector in Nogales. If they want to stop us, they'll have to get out an injunction. I would like to see the court that would punish us under these circumstances."

Meanwhile I had secured one concession from the collector at Nogales. He agreed to release the train if the Los Angeles collector of customs wired him that he had received cash to cover the required duty. The cash was duly paid.

Dr. Giannini and I wiped our perspiring brows. "I never want to see another tomato," grinned Doc. "Of course you will probably end in jail for violating federal regulations. Don't you realize you have committed a grave offense? But I'll visit you in prison, bring you cigars and anything else you want — provided they don't throw me in jail also!"

So far as I remember, we never heard from Washington! Probably our appeals were buried on some bureaucrat's desk. By the time he looked at them, the bank holidays were doubtless over. Anyhow, there were no rotten tomatoes south of the border at Nogales.

We had other reasons for remembering those nightmarish bank holidays. Late on Friday afternoon, March 10, 1933, several of the senior officers of the bank were holding a conference in Dr. Giannini's ground floor office at Seventh and Spring streets. I recall that the Doctor, James Normanly, W. E. Benz, Joseph Rosenberg, and I were there. At 5:55 p.m. a deep rumbling started under us and in seconds the thirteen-story Class A steel and concrete building began to sway like a small boat on an angry sea. Stone grinding on stone, girders creaking, huge plate glass windows snapping and crashing to the floor — these sounds seemed to grip our senses for minutes, though the earthquake really went on for less than sixty seconds. Outside we could see men and women running and suddenly falling on pavement and sidewalks, trolley and power wires lashing as if a giant hand were shaking them. Across the street we watched buildings bend away from their neighbors' walls and then come together, throwing out showers of mortar and

dust as the walls collided. Over all sounded the distant chorus of the city's multitude, nearer at hand the confused voices of late workers still in the large two storied banking room.

All of us ran out of the small private office, Doc probably the most excited of the group. The huge metal and glass chandeliers were swaying madly. "Keep away from those chandeliers," he shouted to men who were running across the floor, "They'll come down any minute and kill you!"

Some one rushed over and said a janitor had been hurt; he had been mopping a stairway leading to the mezzanine just inside a high window when a long sliver of plate glass cut a vein in his forearm. The surgeon's instinct took over and Doc raced to the victim, tore off the man's shirt and made a tourniquet to staunch the spurting blood. "If one of you boys has your car close by, drive him to the Emergency Hospital," he ordered, "that bandage isn't very good. The doctors there will fix you up. Don't worry," he patted the man's shoulder, "Just keep quiet until they get you to the hospital."

In other ways A. H. Giannini, the banker, always remained a physician. One day a junior officer brought him some papers for his signature. Doc gazed intently at the man's face and laid the file on his desk.

"What's that sore on your cheek?" he demanded.

"Oh, it's nothing, just a pimple, I guess."

"How long has it been there?"

"A week or two, maybe; it will soon go away."

"You think so? Well, I'm going to take a look at it."

He took a magnifying glass from a desk drawer and studied the sore spot carefully.

"Get Dr. Goeckerman," he called out to his secretary. In a moment she had the well known Mayo trained dermatologist on the line.

"Doctor Goeckerman," said Doc, "Can you see one of our bank boys right away . . . Good . . . I'll send him over. He has a persistent open sore on his cheek . . . under my magnifying glass, it looks like carcinoma . . . Fine. I appreciate your taking care of him. Send me the bill . . . Thank you. He'll be there in ten minutes."

Hanging up the telephone, he turned to the dismayed man:

"Bert, go over to Dr. Goeckerman's office right away. My secretary will give you the address. He'll fix that cheek of yours."

"But," stammered the man, "I don't need to go to a doctor. I'm sure it will clear up in a few days."

"Oh, so you've been to medical college and know all about skin cancers?" snapped Doc. "Don't waste time arguing. I'm not asking, I'm telling you to get over there on the double!"

Red-faced and still protesting, the man backed out of the office. Later that day Dr. Giannini told me that the dermatologist had phoned that his diagnosis had indeed proved correct and that the patient had not come to him any too soon. The growth was deep rooted and had been difficult to remove under a local

anaesthetic. He had sent the man home with orders to remain quiet for a couple of days and then see him again.

When Bert returned to the bank, his cheek still bandaged, he told me in amazement: "Dr. Giannini maybe saved my life, and I thought he disliked me!" He was one of the employees who was awed by Doc's abrupt manner when he gave orders or answered questions. Some of these men who had observed that I "got along" with the Doctor, developed the habit of asking me to relay to him their requests or reports on anything that seemed likely to irritate or provoke argument. I very quickly adopted the policy of refusing to serve as an intermediary. With Doc's keen perception, there would be no surer way to upset our good relationship. He resented having subordinates fear to approach him. He responded more pleasantly to honest disagreement than to timid or subservient assent.

At least one customer of the bank had reason to remember that A. H. Giannini the banker was also a medico. One of the large real estate loans that the credit officers struggled with during the depression was also secured by a guaranty executed by several supposedly substantial capitalists. The note had fallen into arrears of both interest and principal, also the bank advanced taxes when the borrowers failed to pay them. Naturally recourse was had to the guarantors. Some made partial payments; others stalled. The loan became a chronic worry.

One of the leading guarantors resisted all demands. He was a prominent figure in the city's social life, well known to Dr. Giannini. Investigation of the records revealed that the financial statement this man had filed with the bank listed assets that did not stand in his name and omitted some of his liabilities. The Doctor sent for the evasive guarantor. After exchanging the usual amenities, Doc mentioned the troublesome loan. In his mildest manner he indicated his belief that perhaps his caller did not realize the badly delinquent condition of the loan. Gradually he forced an admission that the caller did know all the essential facts. What did he propose to do about it? Here the gentleman became very vague and elusive, and the Doctor more insistent. At last, losing his patience, he demanded an explanation of the false statement. Was the caller going to force the bank to sue him and then disclose the discreditable truth about the statement?

Now the caller became very much agitated. Such a charge was an aspersion on his character! He had never been so insulted. His voice rose, then quavered. He clutched his side as if in pain.

"I have a bad heart," he gasped, "I can't stand a shock like this; I'm afraid I am going to have an attack!"

"So you have a bad heart?" Doc's tone was ominous. He pulled open a desk drawer and yanked out a stethoscope. "I'll find out just how bad off your heart is!" He thrust the instrument against the chest of his astonished caller.

"There's nothing the matter with your heart," Doc pronounced with deadly irony, "unless it's a little yellow!"

I do not remember how much the bank collected from that guarantor, but I doubt that he ever filed another fraudulent statement, especially if he was doing business with a banker who was also a physician.

One of his proudest medical recollections was of the time when Mrs. A. P. Giannini, then in New York, frantically telephoned him at the Bowery and East River Bank and begged him to rush up to the hotel where her family was staying. Her son Mario, a victim of hemophilia, was suffering from a bad bleeding spell which the hotel doctors were unable to check. Dr. Giannini's all night ministrations finally brought his nephew through the attack.

The doctor was unquestionably the scholar of the family. A. P. on more than one occasion asserted that with pride. Doc had had a longer formal education and he was a great reader. Like A. P., he seemed not to require many hours of sleep. He reversed the process however, usually retiring late, long after his wife and son, and then not rising early. He was a constant theater and movie patron, but after the show, would sit up for hours with a book or magazines. His reading was widespread, medical journals mixed with financial fare and a variety of history, biography and even a little fiction. Here he was indeed different from his brother. Some one asked Doc one day if A. P. had read a certain book that was then much talked of. "A. P.?" laughed Doc, "he never read a book in his life." While an intentional exaggeration, it was basically true. A. P. was too active and restless, too busy planning new moves for the bank to bury himself in a book.

Doc's scholarship formed the background for his ability as a platform speaker. He was often sought for dedications and chamber of commerce banquets. More than once he delivered baccalaureate addresses at Loyola University. On such occasions his remarks were studded with classical allusions and excerpts from a wide range of literature. He was bilingual in English and Italian and could quote familiarly from Latin and French sources. He was not just a flowery speaker but possessed a sensitive ear for the euphonious and pleasing word and phrase. In this role he stood out in sharp contrast to his own fiery outbursts of strong and picturesque profanity. No oath was ever uttered in his platform oratory.

Frequently he coined strikingly original epigrams and metaphors. I recall one when he spoke at a dinner given in his honor by the motion picture fraternity. "You are always at my feet," he shook his finger at his audience, "or at my throat, but never at my side!" Strangely enough, he told us afterwards he made his hearers like it.

Despite his erudition, Dr. Giannini occasionally revealed a quite primitive side. He had a superstitious dread of peacock feathers. He shunned any store or cafe that displayed them or used their motif in its decor. He would not visit a home if he heard the owners kept these birds in their garden. I recall one occasion when a very smartly garbed lady called upon him; unfortunately peacock feathers were part of the design of both her dress and jewelry. The Doctor was ill at ease throughout the interview and could scarcely converse in normal fashion. When she departed, he launched into a dramatic tirade against peacocks, their feathers and any one who tolerated them. In this exciting scene he was decidedly the showman, a role very natural to him.

One must balance the charge of showmanship with other traits where showmanship was not involved. He told me that as a young man he was an inveterate

cigarette smoker. One day a woman patient whose throat he was examining showed sudden annoyance. On questioning her she admitted that the nicotine discoloration on his fingers and its strong odor were most distasteful to her. "Right then," Doc said, "I decided that if a habit of mine seemed so filthy to another person I'd cut it out. I never smoked another cigarette. That woman did me a real favor."

One speech that Doc delivered involved a melodramatic incident that a few of us are not likely to forget. He was asked to address a chamber of commerce banquet at a distance from Los Angeles. He left the city a little after noon on the day in question and called at a few Bank of America branches en route. He arrived at one of them after closing hours and rapped for entrance. He had to introduce himself as he and the manager had never met. This branch was experiencing a very heavy volume of business, and the rather youthful manager was hard at work trying to balance his cash. Dr. Giannini immediately asked him if he was coming down to the neighboring town that evening to hear him speak. The young man was weary and perspiring, and blurted out an undiplomatic negative. Doc bluntly answered that he was disappointed to find one of the bank's managers had so little sense of loyalty. The manager's Celtic blood rushed to his face: "Here I'm beating my brains out to balance the damned books and you call me disloyal!" he shouted, "I don't care who you are, you'd better take that back."

This was one of those occasions calling for the "soft answer that turneth away wrath," but Doc's reply was anything but soft. One word led to another and in seconds the manager reached over the counter and struck his caller in the face. A friend who was driving with the Doctor hurried him out of the bank. After he had delivered his speech, the Doctor reported the incident to some one at the bank's Los Angeles headquarters who reached me late that night. I immediately suspended the fiery manager and sent a substitute to relieve him.

The next day Doc returned to Los Angeles. He was still angry but did not demand the man's discharge. "Send him away for a couple of weeks," he suggested "and we can better decide what to do when we have both cooled off." Most of those who knew of the affair were convinced the manager would be discharged. The offender was very sure of this. He was now a very despondent young man, who was certain his banking career had terminated most ingloriously.

In a few days, Dr. Giannini asked to see the man's personal file. He had a small family, was receiving a quite modest salary. In the thirties it might not prove easy to find another job when the record showed he had assaulted his superior officer. On the credit side I pointed out that the man was an industrious, reliable worker, amenable to instructions and regarded, up to now, as having a promising future.

It was here that Doc showed his real stature. He scowled and reshuffled the papers. "Don't misunderstand me. I'm still mad and think the chap deserves to be fired. But that would be punishing his family along with him, and depriving the bank of a good employee — provided he doesn't make a habit of punching customers in the face if they don't agree with him! He looked out of the window

before resuming: "I tell you what I'm willing to do. Let him sweat awhile; it will do him good. At the end of his two weeks suspension, tell him to come in and apologize and then go back to work. Is that fair enough?"

I thought the combative manager was exceedingly fortunate and Dr. Giannini very broadminded under the circumstances. He laughed: "More than once *I've* wanted to smash some guy's jaw; sometimes I've done it, too, so tell the so and so to come in and apologize and we'll shake hands."

It is pleasing to close this anecdote by remarking that the short-tempered manager is still a valued officer of the Bank of America with a long record of good service unmarred by any further pugilistic encounters.

Probably due to their Italian blood, all three of the Gianninis enjoyed their moments of recreation intensely. It was as if when the springs of tension and concentration on business were released, the sudden relaxation restored the mood of boyhood. They employed the same energy in the lighter side of life as in their working hours.

Dr. Giannini displayed this joyousness on a memorable week end in 1936. L. M. Giannini succeeded his father as president of the Bank of America on January 14, 1936. The bank gave a testimonial dinner in his honor on Saturday evening, the 25th. The Doctor headed a group of officers from Los Angeles who went to San Francisco on the Southern Pacific's "Lark" the previous night to join in the celebration. In this group were Joseph Rosenberg, Lloyd Sutherland, Ralph Rehorn, Edmund Nelson, James McGuigan, and myself. The gala proceedings started with a banquet at the Bohemian Club and ended at two the next morning at the Club Deauville.

When we Angelenos rose a little before noon on Sunday, Dr. Giannini, by far the liveliest in our party, rented a limousine and directed its driver on a tour of all his old haunts as school boy, medical student, physician, supervisor, and embryo banker. We visited Telegraph Hill, North Beach, Lincoln Park, Lake Merced, the Lakeside Country Club, and Twin Peaks. Doc and I were the only former San Franciscans in the car and, for the others, he delivered such a travelogue as no busload of tourists has ever experienced. Bits of history, anecdotes of men and events — mostly factual but some suspiciously apocryphal — kept us in stitches for hours.

One of the tour's highlights was our stop at Fisherman's Wharf. Doc greeted, joshed and argued in their native tongue with most of the fishermen at their nets, and the vendors of fish and shrimps. One of his favorite delicacies were the small, fresh shrimps which were sold at retail in cornucopias like peanuts. Doc provided each of his guests with a cornucopia, and for those who were not familiar with husking the delicacy, he demonstrated the process with an accompaniment of banter and expostulation in which the shrimp vendors joined. I can still see him buying the round of shrimps. He was never comfortable unless he had a pocketful of money. He did not carry a wallet, but when he made a purchase he would pull out a fistful of bills, and thrust the unspent portion back in a disorderly wad. It is a wonder that he was never robbed

The driver of the limousine was a young Italian-American. In one of the pauses in Doc's gay monologue, he eyed him intently and finally asked his name. Then he wanted to know his father's name. When he heard that, Doc clapped him heartily on the shoulder: "Boy, I thought I knew you. I was the doctor who attended your mother when you were born! So help me, that's the truth. I gave you the first slap on your backside. From your looks, I'll bet your ma gave you plenty more after that one." As the young man grinned, Doc was off on another round of reminiscences: "Why in those days, fellows, I bet I delivered more than half the babies in North Beach, hundreds, maybe thousands of them." He proceeded to tell our driver the names of his brothers, sisters, cousins, aunts, and uncles like the chorus in "*Pinafore*." He knew more about the man's family than the chap himself. By the end of that drive, they were old friends.

Late in the afternoon, we made our final stop at the Family Club, to which the Doctor belonged. The ground floor rooms seemed deserted. Even the bar was silent as a tomb. I think we rudely awakened the lone bartender by our clamorous entrance.

Doc ordered drinks but seeing a dice box first insisted on a game. "I'm hot as a firecracker," he shouted, "I feel lucky from visiting all my old stamping grounds. I bet you I can throw a pair of sixes in one throw! Each of you put up a dollar; if I don't do it, I'll pay each of you a dollar."

We duly produced our dollar bills, and Doc shook the dice box long and vigorously with loud exhortations. At last he threw the dice on the bar and there before our startled eyes were two sixes! His shouts of exultation made the roof ring. I am sure the Family Club has never been visited by a more boisterous party. No one had yet had a drink but any onlooker would not have believed that. Dr. Giannini beyond doubt was the most delighted man in all San Francisco that Sunday afternoon. "You fellows are just a bunch of pigeons," he cried, picking up the dollar bills. "Why didn't I bet you *five* dollars apiece? I could have paid for our drive."

Doc was as catholic in his choice of friends as in his reading. He was on intimate terms with Will Rogers and other greats of the screen and world of letters, yet his door was always open to odd-ball characters like Foghorn Murphy, who long before had won that sobriquet in San Francisco where he rode a horse down Market Street, clad in a white uniform and clutching a megaphone, through which he hoarsely announced the day's sporting events at the ballpark.

He was always a great raconteur. More than once I have seen him interrupt a serious conference to relate a comical episode. Yet in a few seconds, he himself would silence the laughter and bring the group back to the business in hand. He was fond of recalling the days of his supervisorial service, especially when some old San Francisco friend, like Francis J. Heney, dropped in to pay his respects.

He and Hiram Johnson had been intimate associates. I wish we had had a tape recording of his dramatic story of the 1920 Republican National Convention in

Chicago. The California delegation had fought valiantly to secure Johnson's nomination. When Warren G. Harding was finally chosen as the compromise candidate, the Vice-Presidential nomination was offered to Johnson. According to Doc, Johnson was so bitterly disappointed that he would not consider the second place on the ticket. Doctor told some of us he sat up all night pleading with his friend to accept the offer. "I walked the floor with him for hours telling him, 'I have a hunch, a strong hunch, that Harding, if elected, will not live out his term.' I pointed out that we had had five presidents die in office out of a little more than twenty-five. Those were pretty good odds! I begged him to believe he could perhaps, still make the Presidency — that he was throwing away a mighty good chance. I just couldn't talk him into it. Coolidge was chosen and the rest is history!"

A few months after I was transferred to Los Angeles, I went with A. P. to visit one of the branches. As we drove across the city, he suddenly remarked: "They tell me you're getting along all right with Doc. How about it?"

"Why, yes," I answered, "we get along with each other very well."

"How in hell do you do it?" he exclaimed, "I never can!"

I was speechless and am afraid I gave him no explanation of "how I got along with Doc." There had been rumors of friction between the brothers, but here the fact was out in the open by A. P.'s own blunt admission. Subsequently I observed recurrent instances of differences between them on a variety of subjects. I never learned the underlying cause; perhaps it derived not so much from any definite cause as from a heavily charged atmosphere wherein two strong, highly spirited temperaments clashed headlong with slight provocation.

On one occasion A. P. came into the bank in Los Angeles while Dr. Giannini was out of the city. In talking with James Normanly, he took strong exception to something Doc had done. Normanly, who had come out from New York with Dr. Giannini to join the bank, was naturally a strong partisan of his superior and did his best to defend him. Exasperated, A. P. entreated Normanly to tell him why he and Doc could not get along better. Normanly, an Irish-American, did not lack courage. "I'll tell you why, A. P.," he looked him in the eye. "Yes?" snorted A. P. "What is it?" "Because you're both Gianninis!" That may well be the truest explanation possible.

The friction was seriously aggravated by a few human cuttlefish who riled the waters for their own selfish ends. Officers visiting Los Angeles headquarters from San Francisco naturally carried back reports about activities in the south. Most such reports were factual and well meant but some were colored or slanted so as to cast Dr. Giannini in an unfavorable light. In these cases the basic facts lost nothing in the telling. Taken out of context, they sounded very provocative.

More than once Will Morrish and I discussed this only too evident attempt to stir up discord. Morrish was very much of a peacemaker and missed no opportunity to discourage these incendiary tactics. He knew that I shared his sentiments. Therefore on one of my visits to San Francisco, he informed me of the tale-bearing proclivities of a certain officer who when in Los Angeles continually and loudly proclaimed his great friendship for Dr. Giannini. This man always called him

"Til," a nickname seldom used outside Doc's own household. Morrish urged me to warn the Doctor that everytime this professed friend returned from Los Angeles, new friction flared up because of his "confidential" reports. "Doc thinks this chap is his friend," Morrish told me, "but he had better be very careful, especially of any remark he drops about A. P. or Mario." I did not fancy this assignment; it smacked too much of intrigue, but neither did I like to see Doc's confidence betrayed and the bank's welfare jeopardized by such backstairs politics.

On my return I delivered Morrish's message to Doc. He looked stricken; it was only because he trusted Morrish and me that he listened at all. "Thanks for putting me wise," he finally said, "this talk will be strictly between us. I'll never again tell that so-and-so the time of day!"

On the other hand, whenever A. P. spoke approvingly of something Doc had done or admiringly about a speech he had delivered, I made it a point to relay the compliment to his brother. Sometimes Doc would eye me narrowly: "Did he really say that?" but I could see he was pleased. I followed the same course in informing A. P. and Mario of any instances of Doc's family loyalty. It is just as easy to be the bearer of good news and kindly thoughts as of slander.

Dr. Giannini often referred to the human heart as a "ticker." More than once I heard him say as he clutched his left side: "Some day, boys, this old ticker of mine is just going to stop like that!" snapping his fingers. This light remark came back to me forcibly on February 7, 1943. Doc was a regent of Loyola University. Its board was meeting that day for lunch at the home of one of the members in Fremont Place, Los Angeles. Dr. Giannini, while chatting with some of his fellow regents just before sitting down, suddenly gasped and sank to the floor unconscious. A physician was summoned but by the time he arrived, the Doctor was dead.

A few days after his funeral, a close friend of his father handed his son Bernard, the following sonnet:

To A. H. Giannini

Gay heart, so quick to fire, to flash and jest
In repartee, to leap the common wall
For high adventure, both in cloistered hall
Or where the crowd milled thickest. Keener zest
For living none had shown. To him the quest
Was greater than the goal. Not trusting all,
His faith once pledged was plighted past recall —
Warm core that harmonized his glad unrest.
For him no candles guttering low, nor shame
His memory with ceremonies of grief.
Somewhere the joyous spark that gave him fame
More bright survives this interruption brief:
Death came for him no harbinger of gloom,
And answering, he smiled and left our room.

THE GIANNINI FAMILY

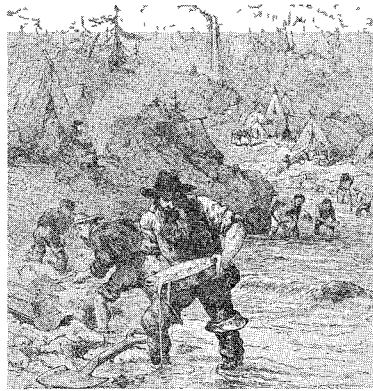
Mrs. Claire Giannini Hoffman is the only one of A. P. Giannini's children now living. She resides in her father's former home in San Mateo, and has an office in

the A. P. Giannini Plaza, the Bank of America's magnificent fifty-two story headquarters recently completed at Kearny, Pine and California streets, San Francisco. Mrs. Hoffman inherited her father's mental powers and breadth of vision, and is an honored member of the Bank of America's board as well as a director in other large corporations.

Lawrence Mario Giannini is survived by his widow, Mrs. Mercedes Giannini, and their two daughters, Anne and Virginia. Anne is married to James K. McWilliams. She has no children of her own, but Mr. McWilliams has three by a former marriage. Virginia is married to Philippe G. Hammerness and has two young sons, whose names are Philippe and Lawrence.

Dr. A. H. Giannini's widow, Mrs. Leontine Giannini, died several years after her husband. They had one son, Bernard, born January 2, 1911. After graduating from Loyola University, he became an officer of the Bank of America and eventually manager of one of its Hollywood branches. He married Miss Colleen Sword (born April 23, 1913.) They had five children: Victoria, an adopted daughter, born April 9, 1944, now Mrs. Derek Anderson; Theresa Bernadette, born March 15, 1949; George Bernard, born January 13, 1951; and twin daughters, Grace Mary and Gloria, born April 9, 1954. Their father, Bernard Giannini, displayed much of the brilliance of his father and uncle, but the fine career for which he seemed destined was cut off by his untimely death on December 10, 1954. His widow passed away on October 15, 1966.

Thus it is apparent that their son, George Bernard Giannini, above-mentioned, is the only male Giannini now living of that line descended from Luigi and Virginia Giannini who settled in Santa Clara County, California, a century ago.



California Historical Society

GOLD WAS FOR THE YOUNG

The gold miners were all bearded . . . that's true.

After a few months of work . . . the brutal, man-killing labor involved in gold recovery from icy, mountain streams, any young man would look older. This was hard work . . . this gold seeking. It was rough by any standards . . . even by the kind of day-to-day labor it took to make a living, anywhere, in the United States in 1849.

Gold hunting took young people to dare the risk . . . it required a young spirit. It asked for the young's willingness to learn, to improvise . . . it demanded their creativity . . . their unquenchable faith in a future they could help to build.

We were a very young country in 1849. California was even newer, open and vulnerable to Yankee industry and Eastern culture. Our national future then, was being borne on the shoulders of our young men and women. It was their idealism, their proven courage . . . their limitless energy that fought our battles . . . that drove us forward. They went everywhere . . . into the forest, across great oceans, deep into the lonely prairies and in 1849 they came by the thousands to California for the fabled yellow metal.

They came with their health, their knowledge, their "get-up and go" and they came bearing our trust and our faith . . . in those days. California gold . . . and our future . . . was in the hands of our young . . . our sons and our daughters.

ROBERT A. WEINSTEIN

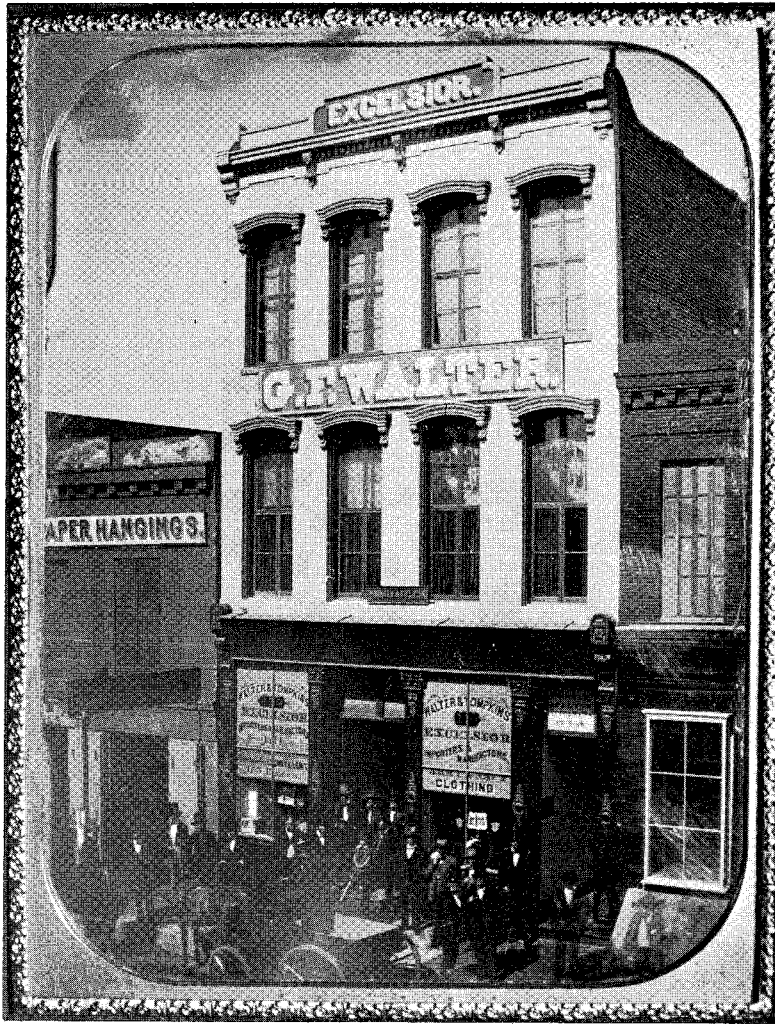


View of San Francisco from Rincon Point, 1856 by F. N. Otis

all photos courtesy Wells Fargo Bank History Room



Jasper O'Farrell, earliest San Francisco surveyor



Montgomery Street, San Francisco, 1856 by Robert H. Vance

Jasper O'Farrell, a young Irishman came to the little Spanish village called Yerba Buena. The discovery of gold north and east in the Sierra foothills would transform it into an astonishing harbor city, San Francisco.

O'Farrell never found gold there . . . he discovered immortality instead. In meager payment for surveying the forming city in 1847, a major thoroughfare was in time named O'Farrell Street and the young bearded Jasper passed on into timeless fame.

The young town grew becoming an infant city. It sported a great . . . a magnificent natural harbor, breathtaking hill views and as fast as it could import and build them stylish business offices of the day.



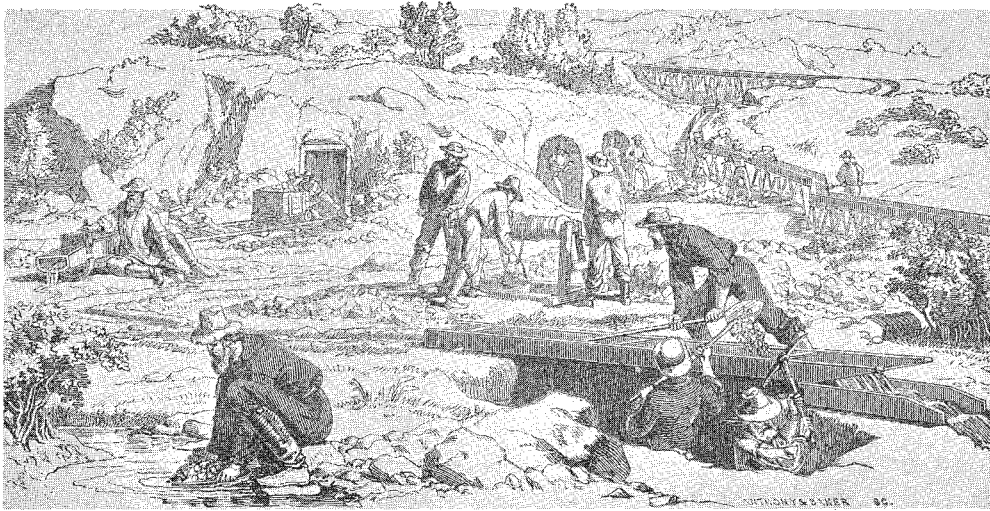
... the way was rough and the confusion indescribable ...

San Francisco ... thriving young metropolis was not the target of the gold-seekers ... it was only the doorway. Their target was the Mother Lode. The Eldorado ... the mines, the diggings ... the gold-rich Sierra foothills. Everything and almost everybody went there ... at least once.

... accidents sometimes happened ...



all photos courtesy California Historical Society



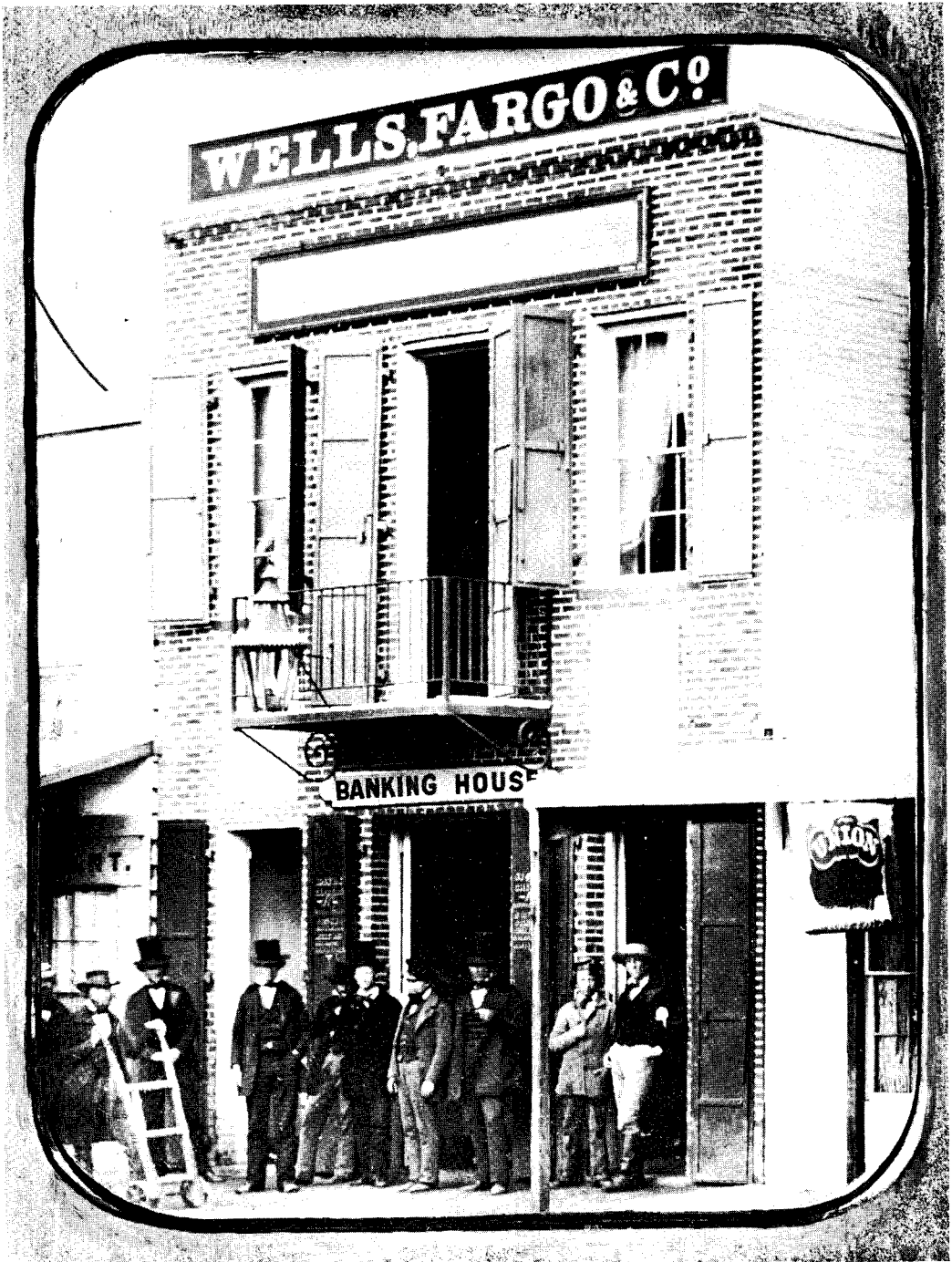
the methods of gold mining varied . . .



. . . even riverbeds ultimately were drained and searched for their pay dirt . . .



but in the end it was always back-breaking labor seemingly without end



Wells Fargo & Co. first location, 114 Montgomery Street between Sacramento and California Streets, opened July 13, 1852

Gold whether in nuggets or as gold dust in a leather sack meant money. Banks were a fundamental necessity, as were express companies to collect, store and ship the precious metals. Agents, stages, stage stations, driver . . . all these were needed. But first . . . banks were needed in San Francisco. On behalf of a Vermonter, Henry Wells, Wm. G. Fargo and their seven associates, two Eastern young gentlemen arrived in San Francisco in mid-1852. Representing the newly-organized Wells Fargo & Co. Mr. Samuel P. Carter opened the express business on July 1, to be followed by Mr. Rueben W. Washburn who opened for banking on July 10.

Both advertisements are from
Parker's, SAN FRANCISCO DIRECTORY, 1852

WELLS, FARGO & CO.
BANKERS
AND
EXCHANGE DEALERS.

W. F. & CO.,
In connection with their EXPRESS BUSINESS, will also transact a general
BANKING, EXCHANGE AND COLLECTION BUSINESS.
GENERAL AND SPECIAL DEPOSITS RECEIVED.
COLLECTIONS AND REMITTANCES
Made in all parts of California, Oregon, the Atlantic States and Europe, with promptness and dispatch.

GOLD DUST, GOLD AND SILVER COIN, AND BULLION,
BOUGHT AND SOLD.
Money advanced on GOLD DUST deposited, for transmission or exchange.

SECRET EXCHANGE
ON NEW YORK AND BOSTON, FOR SALE AT CURRENT RATES.

DRAFTS
ALSO DRAWN PAYABLE AT THE FOLLOWING PLACES, VIZ:

ALBANY, NEW YORK,	HAMILTON, OHIO,
TROY, " "	SPRINGFIELD, " "
UTICA, " "	CINCINNATI, " "
SYRACUSE, " "	LOUISVILLE, KENTUCKY,
OSWEGO, " "	DETROIT, MICHIGAN,
ALBANY, " "	JACKSON, " "
GENEVA, " "	ANN ARBOR, " "
ROCHESTER, " "	KALAMAZOO, " "
LOCKPORT, " "	STILES, " "
BUFALO, " "	JIMLIAN, " "
BINGHAMTON, " "	MONROE, " "
OWEGO, " "	CHICAGO, ILLINOIS,
ELMIRA, " "	WALTON, " "
CORNING, " "	LASALLE, " "
ERIE, PENNSYLVANIA,	PEORIA, " "
WYTHEBURG, " "	ALTON, " "
HARTFORD, CONNECTICUT,	ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI,
NEW HAVEN, " "	MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN,
CLEVELAND, OHIO,	INDIANAPOLIS, " "
SANDUSKY, " "	RACINE, " "
TOLEDO, " "	KENOSHA, " "
MANSFIELD, " "	MONTREAL, CANADA EAST,
NEWARK, " "	QUEBEC, " "
ZANESVILLE, " "	HAMILTON, " WEST,
COLUMBUS, " "	TORONTO, " "
DAYTON, " "	

WELLS, FARGO & CO.
NO. 114 MONTGOMERY STREET,
SAN FRANCISCO.

WELLS, FARGO & CO'S
EXPRESS.

A Joint Stock Company, Capital \$300,000.

DIRECTORS:
HENRY WELLS, WILLIAM G. FARGO,
JOHNSTON LIVINGSTON, JAMES MCKAY,
ELIJAH P. WILLIAMS, A. REYNOLDS,
EDWIN B. MORGAN, A. M. C. SMITH,
HENRY D. RICE,
EDWIN B. MORGAN, President.
JAMES MCKAY, Sec'y.

Having made advantageous arrangements with the United States and Pacific Mail Steamship Companies, for transportation, we are now prepared to forward

GOLD DUST, BULLION, SPECIE, PACKAGES, PARCELS & FREIGHT,
of all kinds, to and from NEW YORK and SAN FRANCISCO; thence to Sacramento, Marysville, Nevada, Stockton, Sutter, Columbia, Modoc, and all the principal towns of California and Oregon.

Our REGULAR SEMI-MONTHLY EXPRESS, is despatched from San Francisco, on the 1st and 15th, and from New York on the 5th and 20th, of each month, by the Mail Steamers, in charge of our own MASTERS, through to destination.

TREASURE & SMALL PARCELS,
received for shipment up to the latest moment before the departure of the Steamers.

TREASURE INSURED
Under open Policies in some of the best New York Companies, or at Lloyd's, in London, at the option of shippers.

Our Regular Semi-Monthly Express for Oregon, is despatched by the Steamers of the Pacific Mail Steamship Company.

INLAND ROUTES.
An EXPRESS for Sacramento and Marysville is despatched daily, (Sundays excepted) at 4 o'clock, P. M., in charge of careful and trustworthy Messengers, commencing at Sacramento with EXPRESS AND LESS'S DAILY EXPRESS, to Shasta and Yuba, and with HERVEY & CO.'S DAILY EXPRESS to Placerville and all parts of El Dorado County.

A Daily Express is sent from our office in Sacramento, to Rough and Ready, Grass Valley, and Nevada. Also, a daily express to Auburn, Oquir, Yankee Jim's, and all parts of Placer County.

Town EXPRESS for Stockton, Sonoma, Modoc, and all the principal Camps in the Northern Mines, is despatched daily from our office in San Francisco. Our Messengers are supplied with new SADDLES for the security of treasure entrusted to their care. Our connections on the Atlantic side are equal if not superior to those of any other California Express. We connect at New York, with the following well known lines, viz: The American Express Company, running via Boston and Dunkirk to Cleveland, Sandusky, Toledo, Cincinnati, St. Louis, Detroit, Chicago, Galena, &c. The Harnden Express to Tampa, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington, &c. Puller, Wood & Co's Vermont and Canada Express. Barrington, Maine & Co's New Bedford Express, and Livingston, Wells & Co's European Express.

WELLS, FARGO & CO.,
OFFICES, No. 16 Wall Street, New York.
(No. 114 Montgomery Street, San Francisco.)

October, 1852



Parrott Building at the northwest corner of California and Montgomery Streets



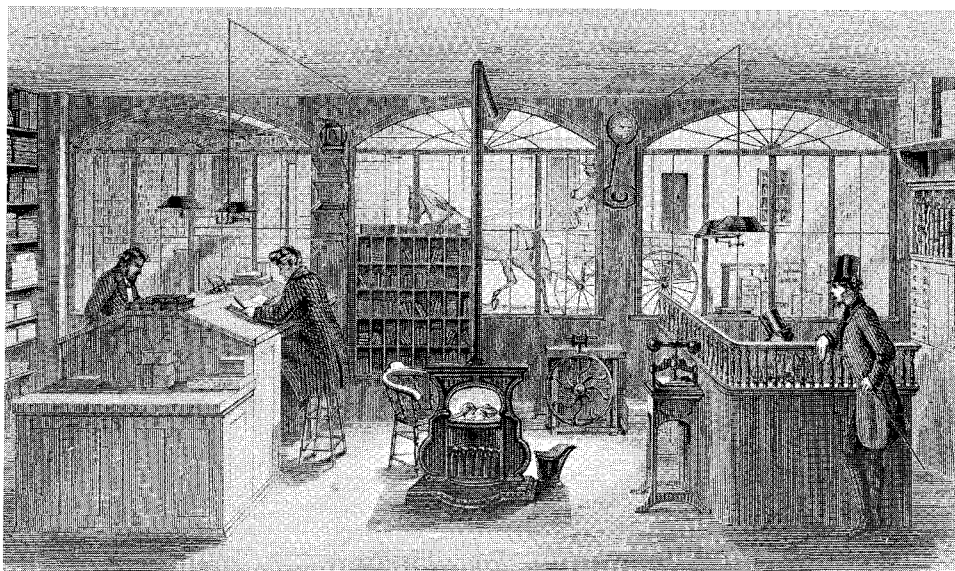
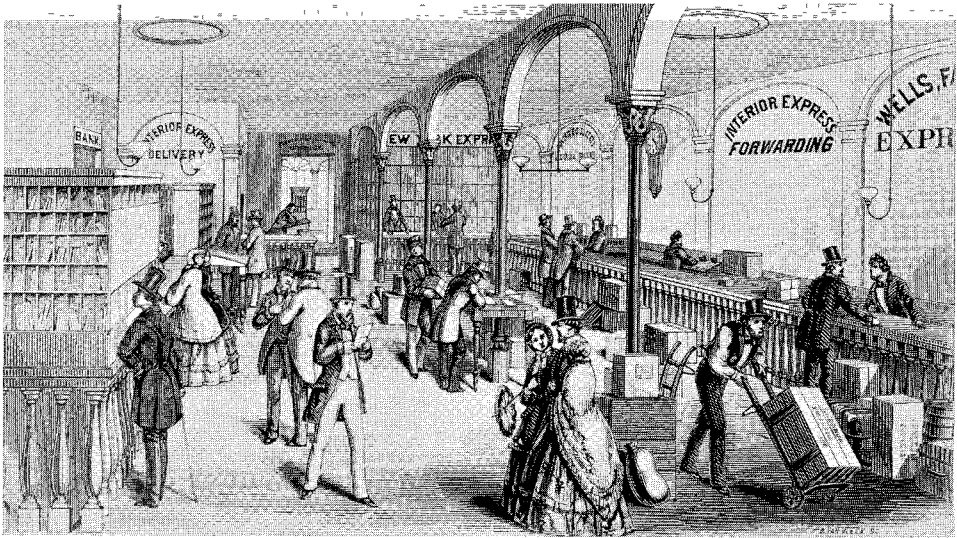
Express Building at the northeast corner of California and Montgomery Streets

The founding Wells Fargo & Co. faced formidable opposition in both fields, express and banking. Page, Bacon & Co. dominated the banking scene in San Francisco and the latter had a strong headstart in expressing. Within three years Wells Fargo & Co., built slowly, determinedly and solidly was a successful operation of substance.

Struck down by the hard times of 1855 Adams & Co. and Page, Bacon folded their doors. Wells Fargo remained as the leading express and banking business in San Francisco and throughout the Mother Lode area.

Moving from their inadequate quarters in Montgomery Street and housed in increasing banking magnificence the Wells Fargo headquarters became showplaces of the times, offering opportunities to the public for a wide range of banking, express and other services.

all photos courtesy Wells Fargo Bank History Room



Original wood-engravings by Durbin Van Vleck on display in the Wells Fargo Bank History Room

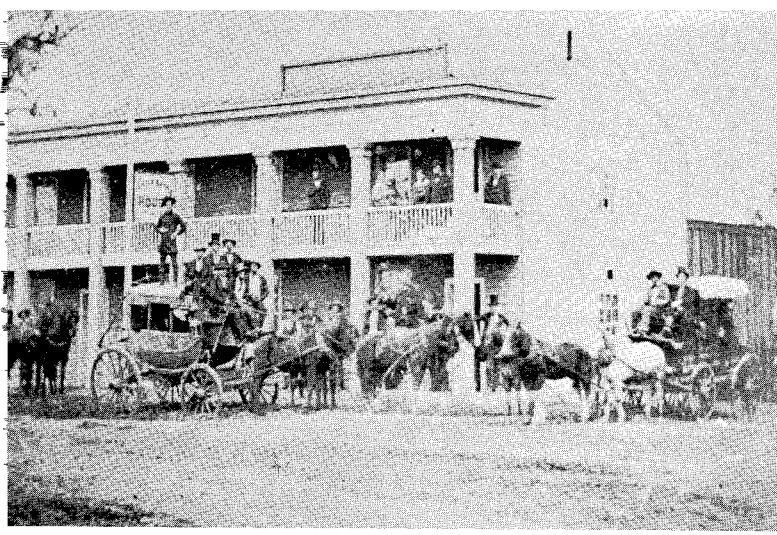


A Gold Rush Wells Fargo office at Vacaville, California

The backbone of their express business were the many mining camps . . . great and small. Providing contact, supplies and conveyance for precious gold and more than all of these, long-awaited letters from home and the chance to respond, the gold camp Wells Fargo express office was often a minor "Town Hall."

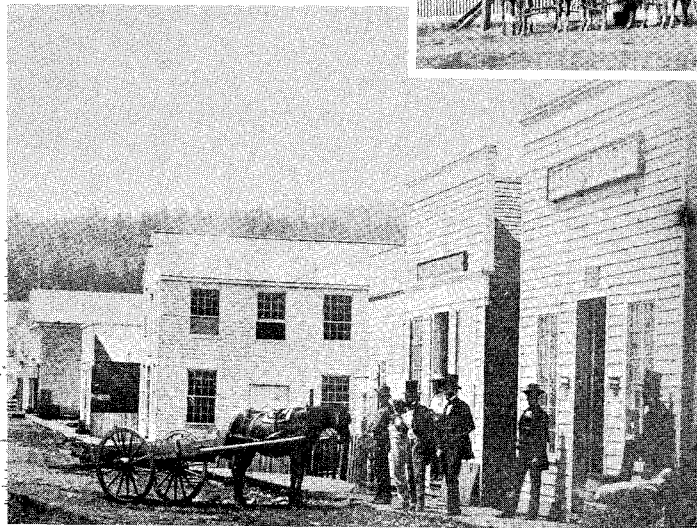
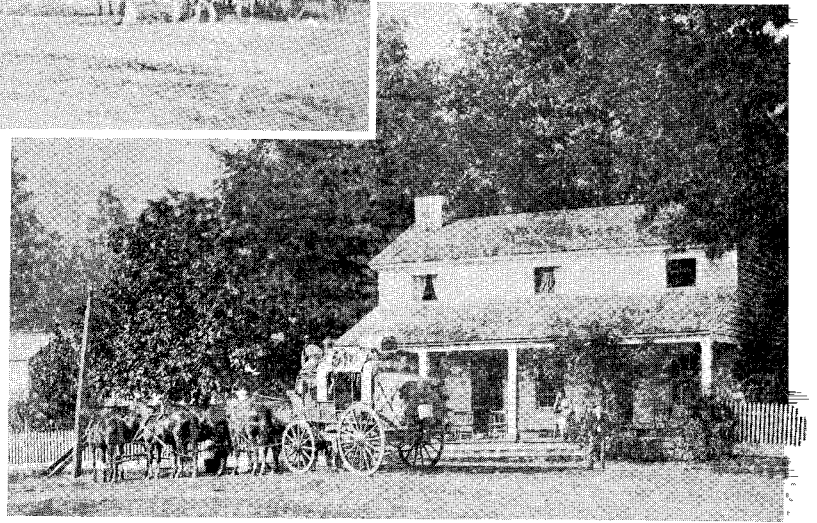
Spread from Phoenix, Arizona to Portland, Oregon the offices and the stage stops embraced every type of architecture, and every type of natural setting. They survived floods, fires, and frequent attempts at robbery. The security of the fledgling mining camps was frequently centered in the Wells Fargo office strongboxes . . . tribute to a mutually established trust.

all photos courtesy Wells Fargo Bank History Room



Santa Rosa, California

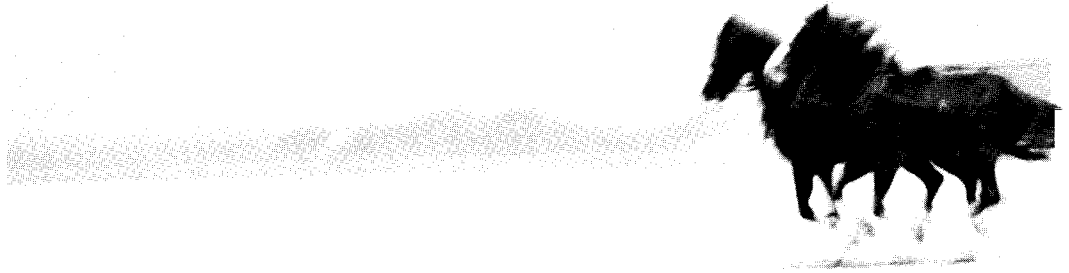
Barrow's Station, Ashland, Oregon



Portland, Oregon

Loring's Bazaar, Phoenix, Arizona

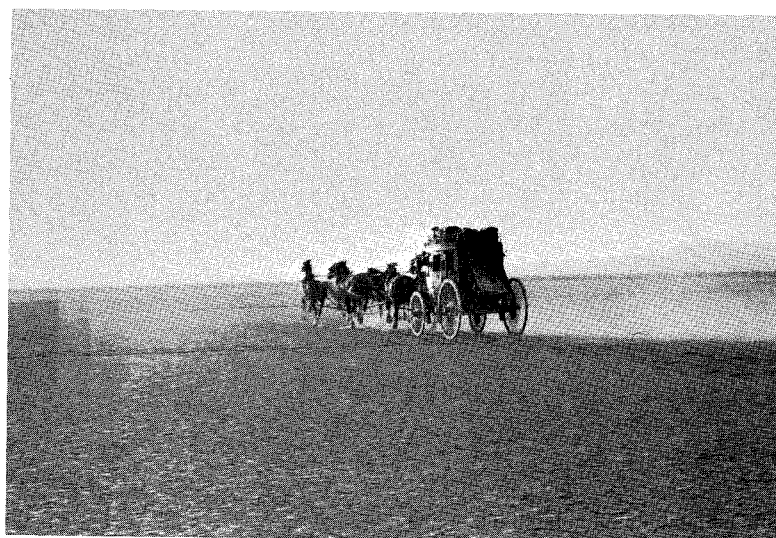




But the all-important link . . . sweat-stained, dusty, overloaded and creaking was the stage . . . the justly-celebrated Wells Fargo stage. The Concord coach had moved Westward.

Straining over mountain grades . . . streaking across sun-baked alkali flats . . . the stage . . . the six horse team . . . the remarkable drivers the “shotgun” messengers, proven guardians of wealth in transit . . . all of these combined, spelled dependability . . . confidence . . . and trust. Wells Fargo quickly became a dependable-name for stagecoaching express.

all photos courtesy Wells Fargo Bank History Room





Unidentified Driver



James Miller



James E. Johnston

But without men . . . young men, independent, courageous and able, Wells Fargo & Co. was merely a resolve, a good intention, a high hope.

First there were the stagecoach drivers . . . the legendary "Whips." Young men of every size, shape and personality they all drove . . . to a man . . . with skill, a bone-breaking ferocity that was intimidating and a devotion to schedule that forever established Wells Fargo's preeminence among their customers.

Till the completion of the transcontinental railroad ended their princely reign, the Concord stage driver of the Wells Fargo Coach . . . mustached, bearded and whip in hand . . . walked among his Western peers as did few men.

... and finally ... the brains, the energy, and the integrity that symbolized Wells Fargo to their many customers ... the ever-young Wells Fargo agents ... and express messengers.

Young in years and experience ... eager for trust and responsibility these youthful tyros managed Wells Fargo's affairs with impeccable integrity and wisdom.

Listen to twenty-one year old John Q. Jackson, Wells Fargo Agent at Auburn, Calif. ... four years away from his Virginia home, writing to his father ... "My position throws me in contact with the heaviest business men of the state—Bankers, Lawyers, Judges, Merchants and all do business through us ... the business I am engaged in requires my whole attention and is far beyond my years—I might have stayed in Virginia ... and never had \$1000 entrusted to me or been worth anything myself ... while here I have charge of a large Express Office and Banking house."

all photos courtesy Wells Fargo Bank History Room



George E. Loring,
Agent at Phoenix, Arizona



J. Q. Jackson, Agent at Auburn, Calif.



Chas. Theodore Hart Palmer, Agent at Ophir with Agent Jackson

Buck and Jennie Miller Montgomery



John Taylor Bowers



... the faces of the feared ... the express messengers



Samuel Knight, San Francisco Agent

all young ... all fearless ... all determined ... all men of integrity and worth. It was upon the devotion and courage of these men ... the drivers and agents as well, that the Wells Fargo reputation of undiminished confidence was built and has endured.

all photos courtesy Wells Fargo Bank History Room



Madison F. Larkin,
Loring's partner at Phoenix, Arizona

J. M. Alexander

A Gold Miner's Letter, 1852

Edited by L. PAUL HYATT

THE FOLLOWING LETTER was written by J. M. Alexander to his sister in Marshall County in North Alabama. It has been preserved as a family keepsake by several generations of his relatives, including the editor who is a distant cousin of Alexander. The letter is now held by the editor.

The letter consists of forty-eight pages of long-hand writing with staff pen and ink. It is still very legible after 118 years of not very careful handling. The letter was written in a three-by-five-inch "Pocket Letter Book" provided by Gregory's California Express Co., Joseph W. Gregory owner and Thompson and Hitchcock Managers and Agents, 149 Pearl Street, Corner Wall Street, New York, N. Y. The inside and outside of the book covers have detailed advertising material concerning the company's messenger and mail service from New York to San Francisco. An 1851 calendar is printed on the inside of the back cover. The envelope in which the letter-book was probably mailed has been lost.

Yankee Jims Dig [g] ings¹
Nassu County² California
February 1st 1852

My Dear Sister,

I take my seat this morning to write you a few lines for the first time since I have been in this country. You know I long talked of going to California. Well I am now there strange to tell but it is so. I have been here something over 2 weeks. I stood the trip verry [sic] well. My health was good all the time except I was sea sick a few days and I almost perished too [sic] death. There was [sic] seven or eight days that I did not eat one pound, but when I landed and got something to eat I soon recovered my strength. I first landed at the City of San Francisco from there up Sacramento River to the City of Sacramento. Then I had 70 miles to walk up into the mines where I now am. I had a Brother in law [sic] who had

DR. L. PAUL HYATT is a professor of history at Austin Peay State University, Clarksville, Tennessee.

been here over a year he and his brother. They are old miners and they have made lots of gold since they have been here. They have made some ten thousand dollars. I am with them and have been since I have been here.

We have got a comfortable little cabin and everything convenient [sic] and you may depend we live well though we have to cook [for] ourselves. I am a splendid cook and that is not all. I am a good hand to wash [clothes]. I am the heartiest [sic] I ever was in my life. My health is very good. I am able to do lots of hard work and we have plenty to do. And I think the prospects tolerable [sic] good to make money.

I will tell you what I did the first day that I worked. I made one ounce and three pennyweights of gold which is worth here \$18.50 but that mine does not pay like some of them.³ Some places here they make it by the pound.⁴

Well I will now tell you how I have made my arrangements. This mine which I first went to work at my brother in law gave to me. Well they were in a good mining [sic] in dry hill diging [sic] and they wanted me with them. So I bought a share in with them. I sold out my first at \$550.00 and bought with them at \$1800. That may look like a large price to you but I will tell you how it is. There is ground enough to work at five years and then it may sell for more than it cost and it will pay from 5 to 12 dollars to the pan full of dirt. So I think when we get it fairly [sic] open we will make a pile of it.

We sorter [sic] calculate that we will get off this summer though I would not say positively. For here is the fact, it is a long ways and a person when here should stay and make something worthwhile. Here is the nature of the case. It will not do for every person to start to California. My advise [sic] to all my friends is to stay at home and try to make a living. Not that I am sorry that I am here but that I have been remarkably fortunate so far. There are a great many here doing no good from the fact that they get out of heart and give up for a person can make money here if they will work. A person can hire for five dollars per day but let them consider the expence [sic] in the time of it. I will tell you the price of eatables. Flour is worth 14 cents per pound beef 20 cents per pound coffee 50 cents per pound butter from 75 cts. to \$1.00 per pound. We get no corn bread⁵ here but the best flour I ever saw. Irish potato is 20 cts. per pound, cabage [sic] 20 cts per pound, onions 80 cts per pound. They make the best cabage and onions here I ever saw. A good milk cow is worth 150 dollars, chickens is [sic] worth 5 to 6 dollars, eggs are worth 6 dollars per dozen. This looks alarming but a person can pay these prices esyer [sic] than the prices of things there.

People live well here you may depend. You must not think because we are in California that we are perishing. I never lived better in my life no [sic] place than I have since I have been here. This country is verry [sic] healthy [sic]. I think people here generally look well. The water here is as good as I ever saw in the mountains and it is verry cold. We have the most pretty weather here I ever saw. It raines [sic] here but verry little. I suppose [it] never raines here in the summer season. Tod [ay] is a beautiful Sabbath day. It would be fine to go to church but that we are deprived of here. No person to see but dusty miners and they pay

little regard to the Sabbath. Some regard the Sabbath here as much as any place. The me[n] whome [sic] I am with are strict professors [of faith in God and religion] and very cleaver [sic] men and seam [sic] about as much concerned for my welfare as they would for there [sic] own. When they leave here I calculate to leave also, that is calculations to all go home together [sic].

You may all think strange of me being here so long before I wrote but my chance is verry [sic] bad here to write and the mail only leaves here every two weeks. So I thought when I did write I would give a full sketch of the California trip. When I commenced this book I thought I could fill it up easy [sic] but I begin to think the case a hard one. This is the first book I ever wrote a letter in and I begin to think it will be the last for I have told every thing that I can think of at this time. For gold runs on my mind more curant [sic] than any thing else. For since I commenced this letter the news came to my ear that there is a man wasing [sic] until dinner [noon] and made 500 dollars. He will make a thousand dollars today. This is certain and what makes it better it is joining our claim. This mine is in a hill. We dig verry [sic] deep. Some of our mine will be 60 feet deep though it is not like the mines in that country⁶ for the dirt will pay from top to bottom. I commenced this letter early this morning but I had to stop to help get dinner [noon meal]. It is now in the evning [sic] and me siting [sic] out by the side of our cabinin [sic] writing on the bottom of a gold pan. We live not moore [sic] than 200 yds from town a small vilage [sic] called Yankee Jims. Some of these hills about here are verry rich with gold. Close where we are they made a pound to the pan full of dirt. Don't let this raise the excitement for I am not certain that I shall make much though I think the prospect verry good. If I can make two or three thousand dollars I shall start home. The work is verry hard. I have worked till I am verry soar [sic] today but my health is verry good.

It is just two months today since I left my wife.⁷ I have not heard a word from there since I left.

I have got some verry [sic] pretty pieces of gold but can not send you a piece of much sise [sic] in a letter though I will send you a small pice [sic]. I have got a piece worth six dollars and eighty cents. It is too large to send in a letter. I see some pieces here worth 20 or 30 dollars.

Let this letter suffice [sic] for all. It is too tedious for me to write to you all seperately [sic]. Therefore let this suffis [sic] for Grandmother, Grandfather and Mother and Jennetta, Lisabeth and all. Tell them to not think that I have forgotten them because I do not write to them separately. Remember me to all who may desire my love. Tell them that I am in a land of gold and hope that God may preserve until I get back whare [sic] I can enjoy there [sic] company. I have always been unfortunate but I think with God's blessing I will make a rise. That is my reason for being in California today. I could see no chance of making a rise any other way or you know I would not have left a kind and affectionate [wife] and come this far beside all other good friends. And I think in one year here I can make enough to clear me of debt and give me a pretty good start in the world. Then I will be a happy man. For I have got an agreeable [sic] good wife.

I know it takes a letter a long time to go from here to you but I will keep them on the way so you may hear from me occasionally. I want you to write as soon as you get this letter. Direct your letter to Louisvill [e] Post Office, Eldorado, C. O. [county] California.⁸

I have nothing more to write unless I was to describe the country to you. I recon [sic] I must fill up the book with something. Some parts of this country is [sic] the prettiest countries [sic] I ever saw though up where we are it is verry [sic] mountainous. Some of the largest mountains that I ever saw any whare [sic]. The growth is mostly pine. Some of them are immencely [sic] large say ten feet through. Some deer are here and once and [sic] a while a Grisly [sic] bear will come along. There are a great many persons in this country now. Little towns are growing up every whare [sic]. It will be the greatest countries [sic] in the world in time. They can raise almost anything here excep [sic] corn. It is too dry in the summer for corn. All kinds of small grain grows here finely. They make the finest barley I ever saw. That answers in place of corn. I hope I will get so that I can tell all about it.

If Sam Bell talks of coming or anybody else of my friends, tell them I saw several men thrown over board into the sea dead though a great many come through clear. When you write let me know whare [sic] Sam is and how every body is coming on. Tell Jennetta I will send her a piece of gold next letter I send. I wish you all to give yourselves no uneasiness about me for I will do the best I can. If I can make money enoug [sic] I will buy land some place not far from you when I get back and live there as long as I do live.

So I must draw to a close for the present. The day is also drawing to a close. So farewell to you all.

J. M. ALEXANDER

NOTES

1. Yankee Jim's Diggings, and the village known as Yankee Jims, is located in Placer County. It is about eight miles southeast of U. S. Highway 40 and near Foresthill, California. *Rand McNally Atlas, United States, Canada and Mexico* (New York: Rand McNally and Co., 1957), p. 100.

Sutter County, which also included the area that became Placer County, was incorporated February 18, 1850; Placer County became incorporated as a separate county April 25, 1851. Letter from L. Rechenmacher, County Court Clerk, Placer County to L. Paul Hyatt, December 19, 1962.

The story is that "Yankee Jim's Diggings" was named under the following circumstances: Yankee Jim was not a Yankee but was a transplanted Australian and former prisoner who assumed the "Yankee" part of his name to cover his identity. He was an unsuccessful dry diggings gold miner but departed the area suddenly when accused of horse stealing. Later much good, rich mining territory was discovered on the very land where stood Yankee Jim's hidden horse corral. Joseph Henry Jackson, *Anybody's Gold* (New York: D. Appleton Century Co. Inc., 1941), p. 206.

By the late 1850's Yankee Jim's was of considerable importance as a California mining town. Governor Weller and Lieutenant Governor Walkup opened their political campaigns there in June 1857. A. P. K. Safford was a successful Yankee Jims miner and was elected to the Assembly of California for two terms. Bayard Taylor, Starr King, and other noted public speakers spoke there. Several lawyers who became prominent in Auburn, the county seat of Placer County, among them Judge Hale and C. J. Hillyer, got their start in Yankee Jims. By 1858 the town had a Methodist Church, a school house, and a hotel. Theater troupes performed in the hotel dining room. A town hall was constructed on the second floor of a store. Many stores and saloons flourished. By 1924 only a few people remained at Yankee Jims. By that time it had only twenty registered voters. W. B. Lardner and M. J. Brock, *History of Placer and Nevada Counties, California* (Los Angeles: Historic Record Co., 1924).

2. Nassu County has not been accounted for. A careful search of available materials has shown no record of such a county or district in California. This becomes more difficult to explain when it is noted that Alexander later in the letter suggests that mail to him should be sent to Louisville Post Office, Eldorado County, California.

3. Gold is measured by troy weight at twelve ounces to the pound. One penny-weight equals one-twentieth ounce or twenty-four grains. In 1852 the market price of raw gold was about \$16 per ounce, and \$192 per pound.

4. *The Placerville Courier* in 1851 described the "Golden Tunnel", a mine in the Yankee Jims area, as producing \$5,000 per week. Jackson, *op. cit.*, p. 206.

5. Corn and corn bread were important as crops and food in North Alabama and much of the Eastern United States; thus their scarcity in California would be of concern to the writer and the receivers of the letter.

6. The writer of the letter was apparently contrasting his open pit gold mining with tunnel and shaft mining, in veins of minerals, that was known by the receivers of the letter.

7. Alexander apparently took the all-water-route from the east coast to California by way of Cape Horn and made the voyage to the gold digging area in six weeks. He seems to have made very good travel time. He had reached his destination two weeks before this letter was written.

In 1857 a Mrs. McClure and her eight children sailed from New York May 5, 1857, and by taking the Isthmus of Panama crossing, reached Yankee Jims where Col. McClure awaited them, June 1, 1857. W. B. Lardner and M. J. Brock, *op. cit.*

8. Eldorado County joins Placer County on its southern border. Louisville Post Office in Eldorado County was established July 28, 1851, and was discontinued and moved to Greenwood October 9, 1852. Walter Frickstad, Compiler, *A Century of California Post Offices, 1848-1954* (Oakland, Calif: Pacific Rotoprinting Co., 1955)

Louisville was a famous stopping place, store, post office and saloon in the gold rush period. It was owned and operated for a long time by a family by the name of Poor who came there in the early 1850's. The old post office and store building was destroyed by a forest fire about 1937. The ranch area including the old Louisville Post Office site is now owned by Wilbur and Maybelle Timm. The Poor family members are buried in the Pioneer Cemetery at Kelsey, California, which is about a mile from the old Louisville site. Letter from Eleanor Kelly Griffith to L. Paul Hyatt, December 17, 1962.

BOOK REVIEWS

La Raza: The Mexican-Americans. By Stan Steiner. (New York: Harper & Row, 1969. 418 pp. \$8.95.) Reviewed by Kaye Briegel.

Stan Steiner has chosen to avoid the hard work of honest scholarship and produce instead a work of shoddy mediocrity. Perhaps he was reviewing his own book when he wrote, "The barrios [Mexican-American neighborhoods] are largely unknown and misunderstood . . ." (p. 150).

Mr. Steiner's misunderstanding is reflected in several aspects of his study. His lack of understanding of the Spanish language, although amply shown in other places, is perhaps most glaringly illustrated when he refers to "*El Espeso* (The Mirror)" in three separate places including the index. His historical knowledge also seems weak when he suggests that Spanish land grants in what is now the State of Colorado were "issued by the Court of Queen Isabella" (p. 61). These misunderstandings are not isolated but randomly chosen examples of Mr. Steiner's scholarship. His ignorance is compounded, moreover, by his paternalistic and sentimental tone.

La Raza has, despite its poor quality, enjoyed wide distribution and sales. The book's acceptance is testimony to the failure of United States — and especially Western and Southwestern — historians to do the hard work of honest scholarship on Mexican-Americans.

KAYE BRIEGEL is currently on the history staff of Long Beach City College.

The Clifton-Morenci Strike: Labor Difficulty in Arizona, 1915-1916. By James R. Kluger. (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1970. 94 pp. \$3.50.) Reviewed by Kaye Briegel.

Western History often seems to be the chronicle of Eastern entrepreneurs conquering the land and its people for their own satisfaction. James R. Kluger, however, has written about another aspect of Western History. He has written about a labor union in the West. He has, moreover, written about the role of Mexicans in that union. This is an unusual book about a unique Western strike — one that was nonviolent in a time of violence on the part of both labor and management. Kluger gives an excellent, almost day by day, description of the strike based on a variety of primary sources including company records. It is sad, therefore, that he has limited his study to a chronicle of the strike itself. His book leaves many questions unanswered: the actual living conditions of the workers in Clifton and Morenci, the conditions that determined the attitude of both managers and owners of the mines toward the strike and all the factors that made the strike nonviolent. The answers to at least some of these questions are still to be found in the sources Kluger used. He has, however, laid the groundwork for further study of topics not well enough known in Western History.

KAYE BRIEGEL is an instructor at Long Beach City College.

CHINIGCHINIX: An Indigenous California Indian Religion. By James Robert Moriarty. (Los Angeles: Southwest Museum, 1969. 59 pp., 2 maps, unnumbered figures and plates. \$5.95.) Reviewed by Robert F. Heizer.

Professor Moriarty has provided us with a commentary or abstract of the strongly moralistic religious or cult beliefs of the Indians of Mission San Juan Capistrano as recorded by the Franciscan missionary Jerónimo Boscana in 1822. Boscana's record purports to tell of the revealed teachings of a prophet whose name was Chinigchinix and who is said to have been born in the Gabrielino Indian village of Pubu a few miles inland from Long Beach. It is not possible to determine with certainty whether the prophet *Chinigchinix* was an actual person born in the latter half of the eighteenth century or whether the person named Chinigchinix is a mythical individual who is represented in Indian belief as though he was a once-living and remembered person. Appearance of the cult is almost certainly late and came at a time just before or not long after the appearance of the Franciscan missionaries in 1769. Numerous parallels to Christian belief in the native cult encouraged A. L. Kroeber to consider it quite possible that the Chinigchinix cult was a messianic one which arose in Mission times among the Gabrielino of the Los Angeles area and Santa Catalina Island and then spread southward to be accepted by the Luiseño, Cupeño, and Diegueño. This spread is proved by the fact that the cult songs are always in the Gabrielino tongue.

The Boscana account is, by the way, not limited to detailing religious beliefs and practices. There is additional information on such subjects as the calendar, warfare, village names, and a unique sketch of Indian character. It is, in short, an ethnography with emphasis on religion.

Boscana's manuscript, or at least one version of it running to about 30,000 words, was acquired, translated and published by Alfred Robinson in his famous *Life in California* (1846). This original has disappeared, hopefully to be discovered at some future date if it has survived. Another version, somewhat differently arranged but equally long, is in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. This was acquired by Leon de Cessac on the French expedition to California in 1884 from the priest at Santa Barbara Mission.

Moriarty has provided us with a well-written summary of the content of Boscana's account which is the longest, fullest and most scholarly ethnological document written about California Indians in the Mission period. But what we still lack is a careful collation of the Robinson version whose original is lost, and the still-surviving version in Paris. This scholarly endeavor will surely be performed by some historian or ethnologist. Moriarty's little book makes no attempt at this important task but is a simply written account of some highlights of the Boscana document aimed at the public which is interested in Indians.

ROBERT F. HEIZER is professor of anthropology at the University of California, Berkeley.

The Capture of the Santa Ana: Cabo San Lucas, November, 1587. The Accounts of Francis Pretty, Antonio de Sierra, and Tomás de Alzola. Transcribed, trans-

lated, and annotated by W. Michael Mathes. (Los Angeles: Dawson's Book Shop, 1969. 59 pp.)

The Cora Indians of Baja California. The Relación of Father Ignacio María Nápoli, S.J., September 20, 1721. Translated and edited by James Robert Moriarty III and Benjamin F. Smith. (Los Angeles: Dawson's Book Shop, 1970. 76 pp.)

Journal Aboard the Bark Ocean Bird on a Whaling Voyage to Scammon's Lagoon, Winter of 1858-1859, by Charles Melville Scammon. Edited and annotated by David A. Henderson. (Los Angeles: Dawson's Book Shop, 1970. 78 pp.)
Reviewed by Noel J. Stowe

These three handsome volumes maintain the fine tone and high quality of Edwin Carpenter and Glen Dawson's *Baja California Travels Series*. The first two present documents pertaining to the Peninsula's Spanish period while the third picks up a decidedly contrasting theme from the nineteenth century through the diary of a whaler.

Mathes' volume (his third in the series) covers the capture of the Manila galleon the *Santa Ana* in November, 1587. In an excellent introduction, the editor skillfully outlines the setting of the three documents he presents. Quickly surveying the establishment and development of the Acapulco-Manila trade, he moves on to note the problems of the trade route and the appearance of interlopers, such as Francis Drake and Thomas Cavendish, upon that scene. The latter's piratical activity is the major concern since Cavendish was the one capturing the *Santa Ana* at considerable gain to himself. As Mathes noted the loss suffered was the greatest one "sustained by Manila galleons during their two centuries of service." Security was a demonstrated need for the galleons and a resultant effort was made to provide it. The three annotated documents which are included describe the actual seizure of the *Santa Ana*. First is the account by Francis Pretty of the Cavendish raiders. His view is paralleled to that of two Spaniards, one a seaman of the *Santa Ana*, Antonio de Sierra, and the other Captain Tomás de Alzola. Mathes completes his work with a selected bibliography of pertinent materials.

Baja California's Cora Indians are the subject of the volume edited by Moriarty and Smith. Their focus is on an account left by an obscure Jesuit Ignacio María Nápoli. In 1721 Nápoli wrote his provincial of his first impressions of the peninsula. He had arrived at La Paz August 2, 1721, and by September 21 he was busy detailing his newly formed opinions. His subject was the area he had just briefly visited and to which he had been assigned to found a mission. This was the region south of La Paz at Las Palmas Bay. The editors had two objectives, namely, to present Nápoli's account and to give a brief biography of his activity as a missionary. Their introduction accomplishes the latter task, and from sparse sources they assembled a succinct account of his work at the same time remarking on his apparent ability to work with the Indians but not with his fellow Jesuits. The Nápoli document by its title leaves the impression that it surveys Cora Indian activity. In reality, however, Nápoli's concern was with

the Indian reception to the missionary endeavor and with an evaluation of the geography of the area he witnessed. Much descriptive material appears relative to possible land use, the availability of water, and the fertility of the land. The potential success of mission endeavor was his primary concern.

The Henderson volume is apparently the first of several which will describe the whaling activity off the Peninsula's west coast. Published here is the *Journal* of the *Ocean Bird* whose captain was Charles Scammon — a man important in this context as a whaler but also significant as a scholar for his studies of the California gray whale. Henderson's brief introduction notes that other volumes will follow on whaling and a companion volume will contain the bibliography of the titles referred to in his present work. He then plunges into the *Journal* which covers the 1858-1859 winter in Scammon's Lagoon, an appendage of Vizcaíno Bay. In lengthy annotations to the *Journal* Henderson more than adequately establishes the setting of the document and demonstrates his own close familiarity with his material. Furthermore, illustrations and maps notably enhance this work. What is clearly established by the *Journal* is the overall outline of the whaling venture. The scene of the writing was a typical mating and calving area off Mexico's northwest coast. Scammon's small fleet of four vessels arrived in late November, 1858, after sailing from San Francisco. The capture of the first whale about a month later, followed the necessary preparatory activity of making ready both vessels and equipment and awaiting the appearance of the whales within the lagoon's inner reaches. By mid-March, 1859, Scammon had a catch of at least forty-seven whales and a cargo of 1700 barrels of oil. His *Journal* not only well describes the whaling activity itself but in addition the tedious and dangerous aspects of the accompanying work before, during, and after making the catch.

In short, all three works provide interesting and stimulating reading and continue the worthwhile aspect of the series which is to make available documents on neglected portions of this peninsula's fascinating history.

NOEL J. STOWE is an assistant professor of history at Arizona State University.

Los Hermanos Penitentes: A Vestige of Medievalism in Southwestern United States. By Lorayne Ann Horka-Follick. (Los Angeles: Westernlore Press, 1969. 185 pp. \$7.50.) Reviewed by Austin Nelson Leiby.

Los Hermanos Penitentes is a fraternal Brotherhood, having as its aims co-operation and care of one for another, and religious practices which are intended to assist each Brother to lead an exemplary life here on earth and to prepare him for passage into the choicest realm of life after death. The flail and the lash were its tools, self-mortification of the flesh the means.

Anyone basically familiar with the great harm which has occurred to the reputation of some of our "other" races by writers of what may be termed "Anglo-mentality," must cry out and echo Miss Horka-Follick's comment on page 158: "For a person who specialized in the area of Spanish-American history . . . , one

would think that he [she] would have expressed a deeper understanding of the Spanish mind. . . ."

Albeit, the work is complete, in its setting, and probably the best comprehensive portrayal of the subject matter; forgiving of course the many dangling phrases and grammatical errors. Termination brings one into accord with what must be the author's main conclusion: that the excesses and evils of the Brotherhood resulted from cultural isolation rather than from religious deviation, and were blown-up out of proportion by early Anglo observers and settlers.

The Brotherhood is traced to its origin, in the medieval past, in the Old World, in Spain, through the New, and up into the mountain fastness of northern New Mexico and southern Colorado. The work boils-down into a narrative compilation of the various books, observer-notebooks, magazine articles, and historical-journal articles previously written about *Los Hermanos Penitentes*. As such it suffers somewhat from standard fact-versus-legend problems, some of which the author pinned down and others she did not.

Among minor historical errors in the work are the p. 78 claim that Albuquerque was founded, or existed as an entity, prior to 1700; the p. 88 error to the effect that New Mexico was occupied by the Americans *after* the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo; and the p. 105 assertion that the crosses carried in procession by the Brothers weighed eight-hundred pounds!

Los Hermanos Penitentes is worth reading. Whether author-inspired or publisher-inspired, the compilation of appendices is unique in such a short work, and valuable, and each appendix adds new light in a new way to the work. The last chapter, not historical but rather speculative, evaluates what the future may hold for the Brotherhood. It is here that the author reflects her natural area of interest and understanding. It is sad to note her final conclusion: the Light of the Enlightenment as evidenced by civilization's advance sometimes snuffs out those twinkling candles which are a heritage of our past.

AUSTIN NELSON LEIBY, a graduate student in history, is specializing in the history of southwestern USA.

Terra Australis Cognita. By John Callander. Bibliotheca Australiana, 8-10. (Amsterdam and New York: N. Israel and Da Capo Press, 1967. 3 vols. 1972. \$85.00.) Reviewed by W. Michael Mathes.

By the second half of the eighteenth century, a new interest in exploration arose. Although this exploration reached the heights of the sixteenth century, it took on a scientific aspect previously absent. The earlier classics of the history of voyages by Richard Hakluyt and Samuel Purchas were difficult to obtain however, and John Callander set about the task of bringing these works up to date as well as adding additional accounts of voyages which did not appear in them.

Volume one opens with a discourse on the importance of Australia and the Southern Hemisphere to England's future and an urging of further discovery. Following this introductory section are the journals of the voyages of Vespucci,

Gonneville, Magellan, Caravajal, Loaysa, Saavedra Cerón, Hurtado, Alcaçoba, Francisco de Ulloa, Camargo, Gaitán, Villegagnon, Mendaña, Drake, Silva, Winter, Sarmiento, Fenton, Gali, and Cavendish taken in the main directly from Hakluyt, Purchas, Fletcher and Monson but also translated from de Bry, Martir, Pigaffetta, Herrera, Ramusio, Acosta, Argensola and López de Gómara.

The second volume continues the journals, basing them upon the above sources as well as LeMaye, *Voyages de la Compagnie des Indes* and Thevot. Included are the seventeenth century voyages of Richard Hawkins, Fernández de Quirós, Spilbergen, Le Maire, Schouten, Nodal, Le Hemite, Pelsart, Pool, Tasman, Brouwer, Vink, Narborough, Veyts, Sharp, Cowley, Dampier and Wafer along with an extensive treatise of Dutch activities in Australia and Japan.

To the sources used in volume two is added the work of de Brosse in the compilation of the third volume. Covering the latter part of the seventeenth and the early eighteenth century, this final volume contains the voyages of De Gennes, Fleming, Cantova, Beauchesne, Dampier, Funnell, Fouquet, Woodes Rogers, Feuille, Frezier, La Barbinais, Clipperton, Shelvocke, Roggewein, Bouvet, Anson, Antonio de Ulloa, Brignon and Byron.

Published in Edinburgh by A. Donaldson between 1766 and 1768, Callander's work appeared when England was about to enter a new era of discovery by Captain James Cook. Little known, Callander's work is basic for the study of voyages of discovery to the Southern Hemisphere. This second edition is in facsimile and contains four maps. Unfortunately the first edition at times was poorly printed and thus the facsimile is rather difficult to read, nevertheless it is on fine paper and well bound.

W. MICHAEL MATHES, author and authority on naval voyages to the Pacific, is associate professor of history at the University of San Francisco.

Franciscan Missionaries in Hispanic California, 1769-1848. By Maynard Geiger, O.F.M. (San Marino: The Huntington Library, 1969. 304 pp. \$12.50.) Reviewed by Francis J. Weber.

The appearance, in 1940, of Maynard Geiger's *Biographical Dictionary of the Franciscans in Spanish Florida and Cuba (1528-1841)* was credited by reviewers with providing "a better balance between the political and ecclesiastical history of the region." Now, thirty years later, the dauntless compiler has issued a companion volume which performs a parallel service for yet another of the New World's more pivotal Spanish outposts. The story of those heroic evangelizers who, two hundred years ago, effected the first triumph of religion and civilization in what is now the state of California, is couched within a series of 142 essays outlining each friar's spiritual, physical, intellectual, and social contributions to the overall missionary enterprise.

The individual entries, ranging from twelve lines (Faustino Solá) to eight pages (José María de Jesús González Rubio), are based upon a quarter-century's study of the official documents of Franciscan provinces and colleges, reseñas of

the Spanish government, mission registers, and biographical reports written by the commissary prefects as well as descriptions of visitors and pen-pictures of latter-day residents. Although "a parade of interminable footnotes was eschewed to lessen the bulk of the book," the work is still quite extensively documented and is, by virtue of its compiler's reputation, a source book which Californiana enthusiasts must hereafter include among their basic reference tools.

Statistically, 142 Franciscans from three apostolic colleges invested 2,269 man-years in "this last corner of the earth" between 1769 and 1848. Their period of service ranged from a few months (Julián López) to forty-four years (José Ramón Abella). As might be expected in any assemblage of human personalities, not all found their work congenial, nor did all measure up to the physical or psychological strain placed on their temperaments. A number were outstanding, many were merely successful, all tried and a few were failures. In any event, "each one deserves the niche in history he earned."

The volume is remarkably free from the typographical errors that generally plague such gigantic undertakings. One exception is the birthdate of Fray Gerónimo Boscana, given on the initial chart in Appendix II as May 23, 1776. The correct date is May 27, 1775, as stated on page 29. The twelve fact-laden charts are, by the way, revisions of "Biographical Data on the California Missionaries (1769-1848)" which earlier appeared in the *California Historical Society Quarterly* XLIV (December, 1965), 297-308.

In addition to a select bibliography, the compiler has added a useful Appendix outlining the biographical highlights of the nine additional Franciscans who visited, but did not stay, in California during the Hispanic period. Those unfamiliar with Seraphic terminology will welcome the "Glossary of Terms" wherein such ambiguous terms as commissary prefect, discretory, and guardian are succinctly and accurately defined.

Father Maynard Geiger's latest work easily falls among the half-dozen most scholarly, useful, and colorfully-presented volumes released to commemorate California's Bicentennial. Western Americana fans cheerfully and gratefully doff their hats (or would it be cowls?) to the directors of the James Irvine Foundation of The Huntington Library for making this encyclopedic tome available for serious and leisurely pursuits.

FRANCIS J. WEBER, archivist for Archdiocese of Los Angeles, is the author of numerous books on the history of the Catholic Church in California.

Who Discovered The Golden Gate? The Explorers' Own Accounts. How They Discovered A Hidden Harbor and At Last Found Its Entrance. By Frank M. Stanger and Alan K. Brown. (San Mateo: San Mateo County Historical Association, 1969. 173 pp. \$10.95.) Reviewed by Theodore E. Treutlein.

This is in all respects a superb book, superior in conception, execution, and design. No review of this work should fail to praise the Sibbert Typesetting Service, the Peninsula Lithography Company, and Arnold E. Olds, the book designer. The

authors are Dr. Frank M. Stanger, well-known to California history readers for his Peninsula writings and his work with the San Mateo County Historical Association, and Dr. Alan K. Brown, who must be counted as the most knowledgeable scholar in the realm of the early diaries on which this book is based.

The volume consists in three parts: I. "The Stream of Events", being a stylistically and historically excellent account of the several explorations made by land and by sea (1769 to 1776) in the general San Francisco Bay region; II. "Explorers' Maps", an authoritative treatise on the maps and charts of Costansó, Crespi, Cañizares, and Font (in the exploration period), and the later ones of Beechey and the United States Coast Survey (1850), all maps beautifully reproduced; and III, "The Explorers' Own Accounts", wherein are found those portions of the diaries which bear on the subject. In III, the device is used of marginal notations which guide the reader as he follows the action. It requires only a minimum of empathy on the reader's part to imagine himself a member of the several exploring parties. With reference to Part III also it is important to note that Dr. Brown has worked with the original Crespi diaries, the "draft" version as well as the finished copy (p. 70).

An insert, "What did the *San Carlos* look like?" is a brief discussion of the appearance of the first European ship known to have entered San Francisco Bay. Two Antonio Caula (marine artist with the *Museo Naval* of Madrid) paintings are among the illustrations used in this section.

Since the authors have chosen to pique the reader's curiosity with their title, it is a temptation to leave it to the reader to find out for himself who discovered the "Golden Gate". The reviewer, who has tried his hand at a similar study, agrees with the present authors that it was *not* Sergeant Ortega as so many, including Bolton, have concluded. He also agrees that the first men to see the "Gate" probably were the soldiers of the Fages expedition in 1770. Then it becomes a matter of deciding whether a discoverer must understand that he has discovered something when he sees it even if others have seen it before him. One can't have it both ways, and if the authors insist that Captain Rivera discovered the Gate because he realized it was a discovery (in 1774), then what does one make of the Portolá expedition (1769), acknowledged by all (except the Drake followers) to have discovered the Bay itself, yet who did not at the time of their sighting understand that they had found a new port?

But this is carping, and the book deserves to be strongly recommended as a worthy contribution to Californiana in this time of the bicentennials of the discoveries and colonization which occurred in the San Francisco Bay region during the years 1769 to 1776.

Front and back cover maps, "Paths of the Explorers", and an index are included in this fine work.

THEODORE E. TREUTLEIN, professor of history at San Francisco State College, is author of numerous books on the Hispanic exploration and missionization period of the Borderlands.

Joaquín Murieta: The Brigand Chief of California. Reprint of a 1932 Grabhorn Press edition, with supplemental notes by Raymund F. Wood and Charles W. Clough. (Fresno, California: Valley Publishers, 1969. 125 pp. \$4.95.) Reviewed by W. W. Robinson.

Through offset lithography Valley Publishers of Fresno have now reproduced and made available to Joaquín fans the attractive volume which the Grabhorn Press issued in 1932 as No. 1 in its series of Americana Reprints. Its title was and is *Joaquín Murieta: The Brigand Chief of California*. It carries the sagacious introduction which Francis P. Farquhar provided thirty-eight years ago and the spirited drawings of Charles Nahl. The new edition also gives comment by Raymund F. Wood and Charles W. Clough, the result of recent research.

Referring to the Murieta story that was published in 1955 by the University of Oklahoma Press — based on the discovery of one copy, in Thomas W. Streeter's library, of the original 1854 version written by Yellow Bird (John R. Ridge) — Professor Wood gives evidence that Ridge may have been the author also of the 1859 "California Police Gazette" story used by the Grabhorn Press. He feels that Joseph Henry Jackson's lengthy introduction in the University of Oklahoma Press book emphasizes too heavily the fictional character of Murieta — spelled also as Murrieta. One reason given is that in 1969 he (Wood) interviewed members of the Murrieta family living in Sonora, they being descendants of David Murrieta, "a cousin of the famous bad man."

Actually Farquhar, Jackson, and Wood are not too far apart in their interpretations. All three agree that there was an individual bandit named Murieta or Murrieta, but that the stories (presented by Ridge) are necessarily fictional. Quoting Farquhar: "When a bandit attains the celebrity of a Joaquin Murieta it becomes almost impossible to distinguish the actualities of his life from the legend that grows up about him." Jackson said: "Since there wasn't a Murieta — at any rate not much of a Murieta — it was necessary to invent one." Wood now reminds us that "what is of importance is that the story of Murrieta is a first-class tale, founded on historical fact, but embellished with imaginative fiction."

Thanks to Professor Wood, Mr. Clough, and Valley Publishers we now have a Grabhorn Press item that has long been out of print, reactions of authorities to California's most famous bandit, additional information, bibliographical and otherwise, and the opportunity to reread an international classic that has inspired writers, playwrights, poets, and musicians

W W ROBINSON is the foremost authority on the history of Southern California

Book Notices

By ANNA MARIE AND EVERETT GORDON HAGER

Book collectors and philatelists have been brought together in their mutual search for an enticing item called *What Happened to Junípero Serra?* prepared by the Rev. Francis J. Weber, Archivist for the Los Angeles Archdiocese. Father Weber's sharp eyes detected an error in the special 80 centavo airmail stamp issued by the Republic of Mexico in honor of California's Bicentennial Year. The portrait of Fray Francisco Palóu was used instead of the accepted study of Junípero Serra. This enchanting micro-mini of a book measures but 1 7/8-inches by 1 1/4-inches and is handsomely bound in morocco. Tipped into each one of these "mini-books" is one of the *Aero 80 centavo* Mexican stamp "oddities". The 29-page essay by Father Weber is unique and Bela Blau's fine handset type and leather binding have created a highly desirable addition to any Californiana collection (Los Angeles: Dawson's Book Shop, 1969. \$15.00).

Bibliographies, at times, can be the most tempting of all reading materials and this theory is quickly proven correct by "A List of Significant in-Print Books about California and Published in California," to be found in *200 Books for California's 200th Anniversary*. This list prepared by John Bruckman is a gem and it is a tremendous bargain for the unsuspecting! Graced with a delightful foreword by the noted historian and book reviewer W. W. Robinson, it has been issued by the California Library Association and the Book Publishers Association of Southern California (Glendale: P. O. Box 230, CA 91209, 1969. 19 pp. \$1.00). A full membership list of the Book Publishers Association of Southern California is also included in this worthy publication.

Some very worthwhile materials have recently been issued which will add a deeper insight to an in-depth study of the contributions of the Negro in the West. Foremost is the reprint edition of *The Negro Trail Blazers of California*, by Delilah L. Beasley (San Francisco: R. and E. Associates, 1968. 318 pp. \$15.00 hard cover; \$12.50 soft cover). This fine history first published in 1919 has provided an excellent and at times only source material on our Negro heritage.

The Los Angeles County Museum of Natural History held one of the first exhibits in this country entirely devoted to *America's Black Heritage* depicting the history of the Black community in Los Angeles since its founding in 1781. The exhibit included seldom-viewed paintings, photographs, and documents, many of which were lent to the Museum by private individuals and institutions for the period of December through March. Russell E. Belous, curator of the history department serving as editor, assisted by Associate Curators William M. Mason and Burton A. Reiner, has compiled a splendidly researched and well-illustrated catalogue, *An Exhibition of America's Black Heritage*, Bulletin No. 5 of the Professional Publications of the Los Angeles County Museum of Natural History (Los Angeles: 1969. 64 pp. \$2.60).

Fortunate members of the Sacramento Book Collectors Club, 7440 Alexander Court, Fair Oaks, CA 95628 (\$3.00 yearly dues), received not only a fascinating

Keepsake but an expertly reproduced facsimile of *Negro Civil Rights in California: 1850* (Sacramento: The Tamalpais Press, 1969. 12 pp.), prepared by David L. Snyder, of the California State Archives and a Club Member. Roger Levenson at his Tamalpais Press printed only 300 copies exclusively for the membership. This is Special Publication No. 10 of the Sacramento Book Collectors Club and is a highly desirable collector's item.

The Divine Eccentric: Lola Montez and the Newspapers (Los Angeles: Westernlore Press, 1969. 228 pp. \$7.50), by Doris Foley, is an amazing and completely fascinating coverage of the Countess de Landsfled, of whom Dumas once said, "She has the evil eye. She will bring bad luck to every man who links his destiny with hers." The *Autobiography*, written by Charles Chauncy Burr in 1858, reprinted in its entirety appears in this edition. The author has concentrated on what the newspapers had to say about the "Divine Lola," and has diligently searched through California's newspapers through every issue published between 1853 and 1861.

Local historians could take note of the spritely historical tribute prepared by Elizabeth C. MacPhail in her *Story of New San Diego and of its Founder Alonzo E. Horton* (San Diego: Pioneer Printers, 1969. 152 pp. \$2.50). This study of Horton, the developer and staunch defender of New San Diego, is a fine history, well prepared and illustrated. It will provide an excellent source item for the years 1867-1917 within San Diego's rich 200-year history.

The October, 1967, and January, 1968, issues of *The Journal of San Diego History*, published by the San Diego Historical Society, have been skillfully combined into one volume which is a richly illustrated booklet. *The Journal of San Diego History* (San Diego: P.O. Box 10571, CA 92110, 1969. 76 pp.).

Somehow lost in the all but overwhelming production of books and pamphlets issued each year by our Western publishers and institutions is a small item entitled *Francisco Orozco y Jiménez: an Apologia Pro Vita Sua*, edited by the Rev. Francis J. Weber, Archivist for the Los Angeles Archdiocese, with a preface by Paul V. Murray. This little known study presents a clear and forthright statement as written by the prelate who served as the fifth Archbishop of Guadalajara, Jalisco, Mexico (1864-1936), and who suffered much for his country and church.

The Example of Miss Edith M. Coulter (Sacramento: The California Library Association, 1969. 18 pp. \$6.75 cloth), by Lawrence Clark Powell, has been made available. It has been carefully designed and printed by Grant Dahlstrom at The Castle Press. Dr. Powell's splendid contribution marks the eighth in a line of distinguished Keepsakes published by the California Library Association — the first began with James D. Hart in 1960 and the seventh by Ray Allen Billington in 1965.

Reprints of little known rare books and pamphlets concerning various ethnic groups in California have, of late, become the major contribution of the R. and E. Associates, 4843 Mission Street, in San Francisco. Their Yugoslav-American Immigrant History Series span church and periodical directories, mining camps,

cemetery and marriage records, covering 1849 through 1930. *Slavs in California*, by Stephen N. Sestanovich (San Francisco: 1968. 136 pp. \$5.00 paperback) was issued in Oakland in 1937. This was a study of all Slavic groups in California since their arrival, with special consideration given to the various Yugoslav groups. It was originally published on the occasion of the convention of the Slavonic Alliance held at Oakland in November, 1937.

An account of the Japanese submarine operations on the West Coast will be found in Grahame F. Shrader's well researched *The Phantom War in the Northwest* (Edmonds, Washington: 233 N. 5th Avenue, privately printed, 1969. 60 pp. \$3.75 paperback). This piece of research and statistics compares official U. S. accounts with those kept by the Japanese government and provides new source material on a subject as yet too lightly covered. Mr. Schrader reports on the enemy submarine attacks on Allied ships in the Pacific coastal waters and of the bombardment of Oregon and Canadian shorelines. He was most fortunate to have the cooperation and use of various governmental agencies and their files. In addition he gained the unique assistance of Masatake Chihaya of the Tokyo News Service who was a wartime officer of the Japanese Navy and a widely respected naval historian.

America's Frontier Story: a Documentary History of Westward Expansion (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1969. 657 pp. \$6.95 paperback), edited by Martin Ridge and Ray A. Billington, will be welcomed on all sides. The story of the movement westward, of fur trappers, miners, cattlemen, explorers, soldiers, and of the pioneer farmers is an overwhelming one. However, these two astute historians have managed to conquer such a herculean task and have encompassed within the chunky 657 pages a wealth of material that spans the days of discovery to the twentieth century. The editors have managed to retain the zest and keen interest of the original writers and to incorporate some of their own zeal and enthusiasm as an integral part of this fine work. A bounty of splendid photographs add much to this study of our American Frontier West.

A series of articles which have appeared in *Westways* as that publication's contribution to the California Bicentennial and which have been compiled by Davis Dutton, *A California Portfolio* (Los Angeles: Westways Magazine, 1970. \$1.95) is now available in book format. Utilizing the same fine illustrations and graphics of the series, this compilation will prove a worthwhile tool for all teachers, students, and libraries.

For the ever widening circle of desert enthusiasts Russ Leadabrand's *Exploring California Byways III — Desert Country* (Los Angeles: The Ward Ritchie Press, 1969. 154 pp. \$1.95) will provide not only a fund of information but much enjoyment as well. This, the latest to be added to the growing list of "Byway" books, is a compilation of twelve stories which appeared in *Westways* magazine. The informative paperback contains good photographs as well as descriptive maps of the areas described.

In 1958 an exciting and colorful reception was held in Olvera Street to mark the publication of one of the loveliest of books, *The Malibu*, by W. W. Robinson

and Lawrence Clark Powell, with illustrations by Irene Robinson. The price for one of the 320 copies of these beautifully designed books printed by the Plantin Press was then \$20.00. Suddenly its merit and beauty was recognized and its price soared beyond the \$125.00 price bracket per copy! But now through the medium of the Ward Ritchie Press in Los Angeles a splendid reprint paperback can be obtained for the most modest price of \$3.00 a copy.

The very new publication *The Western Historical Quarterly*, January, 1970, published by the Western History Association (Logan: Utah State University, Utah 84321. \$7.00 yearly), carried an announcement concerning the newly established Regional Oral History Office as part of a department of the Bancroft Library with Mrs. Willa Baum as head. Consequently, it should be noted that Mrs. Baum's fine study, *Oral History for the Local Historical Society* (Stockton: Conference of California Historical Societies, 1969. 44 pp.), can be obtained from the University of the Pacific, price not indicated.

A group of library friends have sponsored a touching and long awaited *Tribute to Edwin Grabhorn and the Grabhorn Press* (San Francisco: The Friends of the San Francisco Public Library, 1969. 26 pp. \$7.50). San Francisco and the Grabhorns have become so interwoven that their names have all but become synonymous to book collectors and artists. Dr. James D. Hart, director of the Bancroft Library, has contributed a delightful *Tribute* which will please the bibliophile, students of fine printing and design, and best of all, the lucky collectors who have a Grabhorn Press item or two.

The California Handbook, compiled and edited by Thaddeus C. Trzyna and William Shank (Claremont: Center for California Public Affairs, 1969. 300 pp. \$6.95 paperback), is a comprehensive guide to sources of current information and action. The contents cover environment, government, economy, the arts, education, history (by area and period), and other basic data on sources of general information as well as on periodicals, bibliographies, libraries, bookshops and museums. A most useful tool!

Ralph J. Jones' *Longhorns North of the Arkansas* (San Antonio: The Naylor Company, 1969. 372 pp. \$7.95) depicts the life and magnitude of the Great Plains cattle industry. The work is illustrated with line drawings by Donald M. Yena and is enhanced with historical photographs. An illustrated chart depicting the cattle brands of the ranches covered in the book has been added.

A second publication from the Naylor Company of San Antonio, Texas, and another author named Jones is *So Say the Indians* (191 pp. \$6.95), by Louis Thomas Jones. In his foreword Carl Schaefer Dentzel, director of the Southwest Museum in Los Angeles, states: "Dr. Jones' sensitivity, scholarship and skill have brought together a revealing, rewarding and inspiring revelation relating to the American Indian. His work reveals an understanding of Indians that only a lifetime of intelligent devotion could produce . . . But it is not too late for people to hear the beauty, philosophy and wisdom of the aboriginal Americans. *So Say the Indians* will provide a valuable stepping stone along this rewarding trail." Louis Thomas Jones, the author, was a professor of European history at Whittier College

and has long been involved in Indian research and museum work. His other works include *Red Man's Trail*, *Indian Cultures of the Southwest*, and *Aboriginal American Oratory*.

A round-up of eight short novels of the west, published by members of the Western Writers of America under the title of *Western Bonanza*, has been edited by Todhunter Ballard (New York: Doubleday and Company, 1969. 420 pp. \$6.95). Represented are writers Clifton Adams, Elsa Barker, Clay Fisher, Bill Gullick, Luke Short, and others.

Doctors on Horseback, the saga of men who served on the medical frontiers in the United States, is now available in paperback. This reprint of James Thomas Flexner's study (New York: Dover Publications Reprint, 1969. 338 pp. \$2.50) has been enlarged and will prove of value to those interested in medical history.

Chinaman's Chance is a collection of Elmer Wok Wai's reminiscences of life in San Francisco's Chinatown, of his long seventeen years spent in San Quentin Prison, and of his eventual parole, as told through the pen of Veta Griggs (New York: Exposition Press, 1969. 227 pp. \$5.00).

MANUEL SERVÍN

Through the five decades of its publication, the *California Historical Society Quarterly* has grown in prestige and readership because of the scholarship and perserverance of its editors. Founded and guided through its early years by such eminent historians as Henry Wagner, Robert Cowan, Charles Camp, Carl Wheat, and Douglas Watson, the *Quarterly* quickly achieved the national reputation that it has maintained to this day.

The editor who has served longer than any of his distinguished predecessors has chosen to conclude with this issue of the *Quarterly* a full decade of editorial leadership. Manuel Servín has brought to the *Quarterly* since 1960 not merely those requisites expected of an editor, but more — a fresh, innovative spirit, a confidence in the contributions to be made by students and young authors, and, too, a sense of the reality of history — all of which will establish Manuel Servín's editorship as an era in which the California Historical Society moved with the times, without sacrificing any of the traditions of style or scholarship.

As Manuel takes leave of his editorial chair, we have asked Doyce Nunis and W. W. Robinson, two of his long-time associates and able representatives of two generations of California scholars, to join with the staff and Trustees of the Society in paying tribute to a good editor and a good man.

J. S. HOLLIDAY, *Director*

A PERSONAL APPRECIATION

I have been privileged to count Manuel Servín among my closest acquaintances. Indeed, in point of time and association, he is my oldest friend. As a fellow editor and colleague, I have shared many of his experiences over these past years. So you will know him as I do, a biographical word or two.

Born in El Paso, Texas, August 8, 1920, his parents, Isidro and Juana Maldonado (Ferrer), shortly thereafter migrated to southern California, settling at Calexico. Raised in that desert community, Manuel early learned that life could be hard and demanding. His environment shaped his destiny; his spirit was forged in the broad expanse and tempered in the sweltering heat of Imperial County.

Endowed with a native intellect, he proved a good student. Embued with a sense of service, his preliminary collegiate education was as a seminarian. But it was the academic world which beckoned. In 1949 he earned his B.A. from Loyola University, followed by a master's degree in social work from Boston College in 1951. Newly married, he returned to the west coast and resumed graduate study at USC. There he completed the M.A. (1954) and Ph.D. in History (1959). During those

grueling years, he supported his growing family by teaching in the local public schools.

On the eve of his doctoral commencement, he was appointed to the faculty of El Camino College. It was from that position he was called to the editorship of the *Quarterly*. Two years later his graduate alma mater, USC, invited him to become a member of the History Department.

In essence, during this past decade he has worn two hats — editor and teacher. His performance in the first is graphically attested to in volumes 39-49. Yet through all the time-consuming duties required of a conscientious editor, his teaching performance never waivered. Vibrant and intense in personal communication, he is also articulate and dramatic. His students quickly learn that his standards are high, and that he expects of others what he imposes upon himself. He is warm and gentle, candid and congenial, fun-loving and loyal. Scholarship and integrity are his hallmarks. He gave both, fully, to his dual responsibilities as editor and teacher.

As you take leave of your editorial chores, Manuel, I salute you for a job well done. I find comfort in knowing that your dedication to scholarship and teaching will continue as you assume your new post as professor of history at Arizona State University. *Adios, amigo. Vaya con Dios.*

DOYCE B. NUNIS, JR.

MANUEL P. SERVÍN, AS EDITOR

In June 1960 I became fully aware of the take-over by Manuel P. Servín of the editorship of the *California Historical Society Quarterly*. In that month he flattered me in Bakersfield by asking for the right to publish a talk I had just given before a historical symposium in that city. The article, "The Writing of Local History," appeared in the September, 1960, issue of Editor Servín's new *Quarterly*.

The *Quarterly*, under the Servín leadership, has made a noteworthy contribution to California history and scholarship and has maintained the Society's standards. The topical coverage has had breadth. I note authoritative articles on California Indians, biographies of pioneer figures, early day land grants, architecture, wine-making, politics and political campaigns, Hollywood, and education — to mention only a few subjects. The authors have been mostly professional historians of stature, beginning with John W. Caughey and including California's and the West's best known men and women of the scholastic world. Several Church authorities, such as Maynard Geiger, have made solid contributions to California's history via the *Quarterly*. Distinguished non-academics, such as Albert Shumate, Dwight L. Clarke, and Lucius Beebe, have been called on by Editor Servín to make contributions in specialized fields.

Significant during the Servín regime has been his publishing of the work of the

younger professional historians. This has encouraged and fostered interest and excitement in the state's history among those who are becoming the leaders of the profession. After all, publication in the *Quarterly* is a prized distinction.

This broad activity on Manuel Servín's part has not been accidental. It reflects the manifold aspects of the man himself. He is of course a scholar, an absolutely independent thinker, but a very modest man, one who appreciates good writing. His own personal contributions to the *Quarterly* (mostly devoted to the Spanish-Mexican period) have been characterized by simplicity, frankness, precision, and clarity — qualities that he values in his contributors. I have found Manuel over the years to be a gentle, fun-loving man, a delightful companion. Normally he is most restrained in demeanor, but he may challenge a speaker's statement at a symposium or at a committee meeting, especially if he is listening to sentimental or issue-dodging comments.

The book review section of the *Quarterly*, as maintained by Servín, has taken on largely the charitable and gentler approach of the editor himself, instead of the savagery that characterizes reviews in some of the other historical magazines. The selection of reviewing experts has been admirable, though admittedly the reviews sometimes have been so far behind the books' publication dates that the volumes are already out of print. Let's blame the sluggish reviewers.

Congratulations, Editor Manuel Servín on the fine job that has given the California Historical Society national stature!

W. W. ROBINSON

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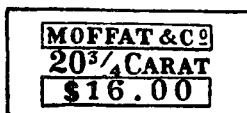
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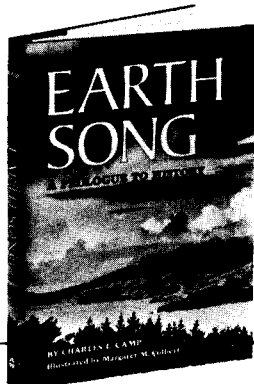
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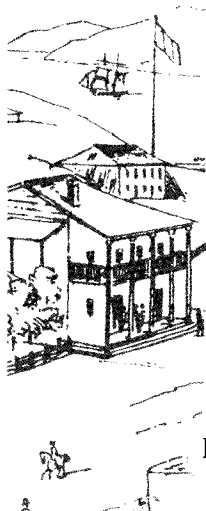


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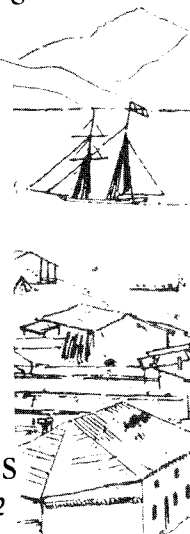
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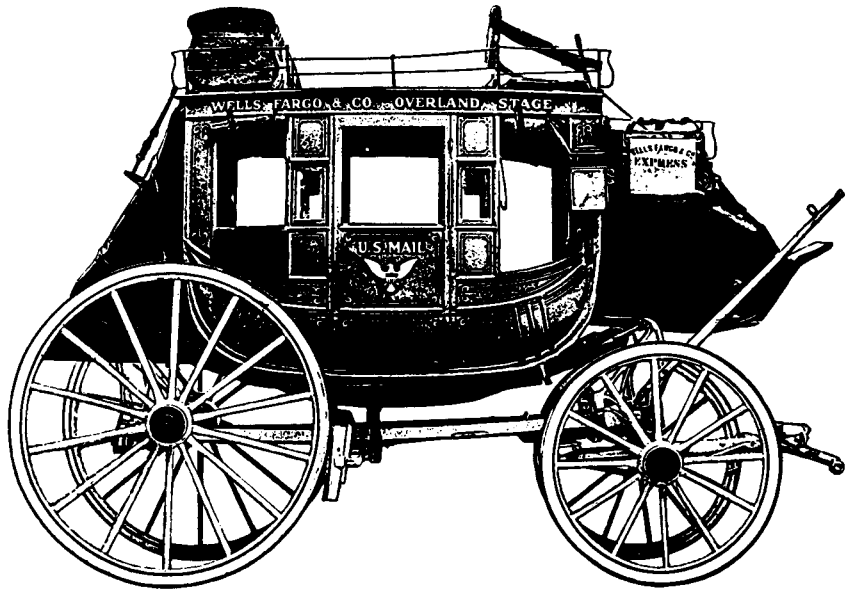
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